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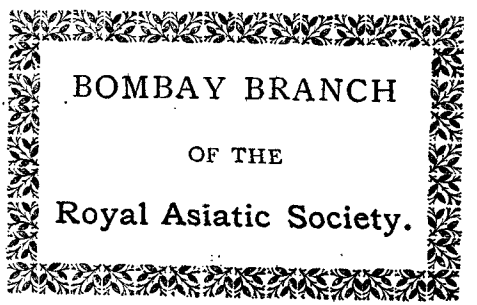

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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume V

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME V

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THE TABLE

PAGE

The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the fift Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrimes.

CHAP. VII.

The second Voyage of Captaine Pring into the East Indies. Or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Joynt Stock, set forth by the Honorable and Worshipfull of the East Indie Societie: consisting of five ships, viz. the James Royall, of burthen a thousand Tunnes, Rowland Coytmore Master: the Anne Royall, nine hundred Tunnes, Andrew Shilling Master; the Gift, eight hundred Tunnes, Nathaniel Salmon Master: the Bull, foure hundred Tuns, Robert Adams Master: the Bee, one hundred and fiftie Tunnes; John Hatch Master. All under the government of Martin Pring. . . 1

§. 1. Occurrents in the way, at Surat, Bantam, and Jacatra. 1

An Eclipse. A dangerous Leake. Portugall Spies. Perfidious people. Dangerous Rockes. Pangrams injustice. Dutch injuries offered to the English.

§. 2. Dutch wrongs, and the fights betwixt Sir Thomas Dale and them. 8

A generall Fast. Blacke Lion taken. A fight. Lion fired. Jackson slaine. Pangrams Policie. Hollanders bravados to the English. They meet, fight, flee.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 3. Their departure for Coromandell: Occurrents there: Sir Thomas Dales death. English ships taken by the Dutch. Consultation and provisions at Teco, and departure thence. 17

The Governor of Vingeron his entertainment of the English. Sr. T. Dales death. Capt. Pring, Admirall of the united fleet. Store of provision. Dangerous Shoalds and Rocks.

§. 4. Newes of the peace betwixt English and Dutch: the mutuall congratulation: Voyage to Japan, returne thence and home. 26

The happy uniting of the English and Dutch. Nangasaque burnt. The Unicorne lost.

§. 5. The Voyage from Bantam to Patania, and thence to Japan, with his returne to Jacatra; set by it selfe for the use of Mariners. 33

From Bantam Sea-turnes and Land-turnes. Voyage to Japan. Store of Ilands. Variation of depths. Voyage to Patania in the way to Japan. Gurnets Head. Dutch curtesie. Dangerous Rockes. Captaine Prings second Voyage to the East Indies. Captaine Prings carefull observations by Sea. East India Voyage. Saddle Iland. Dangerous Leakes. East India Voyages. Scorpians heart. Small Ilands. Captaine Prings arrivall in Japan: and returne thence.

Their returne. 57

Captaine Prings returne from Japan. Captaine Prings arrivall in Japa from Japan.

CHAP. VIII.

William Hores discourse of his Voyage in the Dragon and Expedition, from Surat to Achen, Teco and Bantam; and of the surprising the Dragon, Beare, Expedition, &c. in a Letter to the Companie. 64

English affaires at Dabull, and with the Malabars. Sprage abused. Demand of debts. Samorines dissimulation.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

The Samorine denyeth performance. Samorine threatned. Owen Bodman executed. Rich. Crane miraculously delivered. Treacherie usuall in Teco. Tucker stabd by a thiefe. Murther. A tryall to find out the Murtherer. Infidels more pitifull, then the Dutch Christians. Distresse in Tecoo. Our men murthered.

CHAP. IX.

The Journall of Master Nathaniel Courthop, his voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being chiefe Commander of the two ships, the Swan, Admirall; Master Davis, Master: and the Defence, Vice-Admirall; Master Hinchley, Master: together with his residence in Banda, and occurrents there; contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted. 86

§. 1. English kindnesses to the Dutch: the surrender of Poolaroone to His Majestie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch hostilitie, their taking the Swan, Salomon, and Attendance, and keeping the Defence betrayed by Fugitives. 86

English kindnesses to the Dutch. Commission to maintaine the Kings Majesties right. Mart of Lies, marke of Theeves.

§. 2. The manner of taking the Salomon and Attendance, in divers Letters described, Dutch abusive devices by lyes to delude and dis-hearten our men: divers Extracts of Letters of M. Courthop, with other occurrents. 94

The Devill a Lyer and Murtherer. Dutch force and fraud. Brave spirits of the Bandanezes. Dutch crueltie. Their lying devices. The Dutch killed our men; imprisoned others. Hollanders tyrannie. Bandanezes constancie to the English. Hollanders hostility. Killing our men. Assuming our Colours. Ludgate or Newgate prisoners more happy then we. Strife for superioritie, cause of destruction.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 3. Other Acts of the Hollanders in divers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir Thomas Dale, Master Jordan and others, and various events in those parts till his death. 114

Captaine Newports death. M. Jackson killed. Sir T. Dales and Captaine Jordans Letters. Surrender of Lantore. Bachan taken by the Spaniards. Seven English ships taken. Captaine Jordan slaine.

Sir Thomas Dales Letter. 116

The Presidents Letters. 117

CHAP. X.

The continuation of the former Journall by Master Robert Hayes, contayning the death of Captaine Courthop, succession of Robert Hayes, surrender of Lantore to His Majestie, newes of the peace, and after the peace Lantore and Poolaroone seized by the Dutch. . . 126

Captaine Courthops constancy, courage and death. Keymen chastised. The English and Dutch agreed. Cunning trickes of the Hollanders in Banda. Hollanders invade Lantore and burne the Towne. Dutch hostilitie to the English. Seran treacherie.

CHAP. XI.

A Letter written to the East India Companie in England, from their Factors. 137

The Hollanders cruelties to the English and Chineses. Lantore subdued by the Hollanders with much bloudshed. English love and aide to the Dutch, ill requited. Ships taken by the Hollanders at Banda.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP. XII.

The Hollanders declaration of the affaires of the East Indies: faithfully translated according to the Dutch Copie, printed at Amsterdam, 1622. written in answere to the former reports, touching wrongs done to the English. And an answere written by certaine Mariners lately published: with Depositions further opening the iniquitie and crueltie of the Dutch. 147

§. 1. A true Relation of that which passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies, in the yeere of our Lord God 1621. And before printed at Amsterdam, 1622. 147

A contract of peace betwixt the English and Dutch. The Dutch excuse their owne wrongs.

§. 2. An answere to the Hollanders declaration concerning the occurrents of the East India, contracted somwhat briefer then in the former Impression. . . . 155

The Hollanders objections to cleere themselves of their abuses, prove themselves to be guiltie. English imprisoned, tortured, and killed, by the Dutch.

§. 3. Relations and Depositions touching the Hollanders brutish and cruell usage of the English. . . . 162

Captaine Jordane trayterously shot to the heart. Inhumane and brutish crueltie of the Dutch. Most horrible and barbarous impietie of Christians. Perjurie, insolencie, and crueltie of the Dutch. Whether the English or Hollander were first cause of breach.

CHAP. XIII.

A pithy Description of the chiefe Ilands of Banda and Moluccas, by Captaine Humphrey Fitz-Herbert, in a Letter to the Companie. 174

Description of the Ilands of Banda and Amboyna. Ternate, seate of dissention betwixt the Spaniard and Dutch. The swelling Titles of Coen the Dutch Generall.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP. XIIII.

Three severall Surrenders of certaine of the Banda Ilands made to the Kings Majestie of England, faithfully translated out of Malahan into English; with a voyage also annexed of Sir Henrie Middleton. . . . 181

The Contents of the Surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, in Banda, to His Majestie. . . 181

His Majestie intituled King of Pooloway and Poolaroone.

The Surrender of Rosinging and Wayre to his Majestie. . 184

Rosinging and Wayre surrendred to the King of England.

Translation of the Surrender of Lantore, Cont. in the paper N.D. 186

Lantore also surrendred to his Majestie of England.

The voyage of Master Henrie Middleton to the Moluccas, (having sent Captaine Colthrust in the Ascension to Banda) with Letters of the Kings of those parts to his Majestie. 188

Hollanders lying devices, to disgrace the English.

The King of Tarnatas Letter to the King. . . . 191

The King of Tydores Letter to the Kings Majestie of England. 192

The King of Bantam to the King of England. . . . 193

Kings of Ternata, Tydore, & Bantam, their letters to his Majestie.

CHAP. XV.

The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histories. 193

Voyages to the East Indies by the Dutch. First Voyage of the Dutch to the East Indies. Hollanders first Voyages to the East Indies. Mauritius Iland. The Dutch first Trade at Banda. First Trade of the Dutch at

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

Banda. Orankayes free States. Portugall insolence. John de Austria, how King of Candie. Neccius Voyage to China. The King of Ternata his Titles. A Dutch Fleet of fourteene saile sent to the Indies. Hollanders at Zeilon and Patane. John of Austria. Amboyna and Tydore taken by the Dutch. Mateliff at Malacca. Mozambique taken. The King of Jor descryed. The Hollanders will doe no right, nor take no wrong. Verhuef the Dutch Generall, and Cap. Bitter slaine.

The gaines which the Hollanders had gotten by the East India trade, taken out of a Booke translated out of the Dutch, perswading to a West India Trade. . . 227

Dutch gaynes, and present state of their India Trade.

The Relation of the Priest of Poolaroone, touching the beginnings and occasions of quarrels betwixt the Dutch and Bandaneses, written in the Malayan language with his owne hand, in a very faire Arabick letter. . . 231

Contentions betwixt the Hollanders and Bandaneses.

A discourse of those warres by the Author. . . . 232

Banda case (cause of the Dutch-English-Indian Wars) discussed. Dutch Adventurers complaine of Commanders in the Indies. Basely and proudly insolent Dutch by Dutch testimonie.

CHAP. XVI.

Extracts of a Journall of a voyage to Surat and to Jasques in the Persian Gulfe, set forth by the East India Societie of Merchants: wherein were imployed foure new ships; the London, of eight hundred Tunnes, and therin Andrew Shilling chiefe Commander of the whole Fleet, William Baffin Master; the Hart, of five hundred Tunnes, Richard Blithe Master; the Roe Bucke, of three hundred, Richard Swan Master; the Eagle, of two hundred and eightie, Christopher Browne Master. Written by Richard Swan. . . . 241

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

East Indian Voyages. A Portugall prize. Preparation for a Sea-fight of foure English ships. A Sea-fight betwixt the English and the Portugals. East India Voyages performed by the English.

Relation of the fight of foure English ships with foure Portugall ships, two Galliats, and ten Frigats in the Gulfe of Persia, in the moneths of December and Januarie, 1620. 252

A wonderfull victorie at Sea against the Portugalls. The Portugall fleet vanquisht and scattered.

Part of a Letter written from Master Robert Smith to his brother Henrie Smith, relating of a rare attempt and exploit of a small English Pinnasse, in taking a Portugall ship. 256

Giles Hobbs his travaile from Musco to Spahan, written in a Letter by himselfe to the East Indian Companie. . 257

A Voyage, and divers wayes from Russia by the Caspian Sea into Persia. The making of Caviare and Isinglas. Persian Trade.

CHAP. XVII.

A discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies: Answering to divers objections which are usually made against the same. Written by T. Mun. . . . 262

A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies.

The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the sixt Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrimes.

The Epistle Dedicatorie to the High and Mightie Prince, George, Duke, Marquesse and Earle of Buckingham. . 305

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP. I.

Observations of Africa, taken out of John Leo his nine Bookes, translated by Master Pory, and the most remarkable things hither transcribed. . . . 307

§. 1. Collections out of the first Booke of John Leo, touching the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more generall considerations of Africa. 307

The Description of Africa. Division of the tawny Moores into Tribes and Nations. Gehoar a slave by condition. Cairo built by Gehoar. Arabians governed, civill and trustie: otherwise, theeves, etc. The Tribes Casts or Kindreds, inhabiting the African Desarts. Arabian Tribes and Nations, warlike and valiant. Manners and customes of the Africans. Their attire, etc. All learning and good discipline held in contempt. Arabian valour. Portugall acts in Africa. The Arabians neere Egypt, their poverty, and want of Corne. The Faith and Religion of the ancient Africans. Of the dangerous and snowie places in Africa. Danger by thirst. A deare price for a cup of water. The African seasons of the yeare. Arabian and African yeeres. African lives and ages. Plague rare in Numidia. Commendable actions of the Africans. Moores, a people of great fidelitie. Their gravitie, modestie. Numidians, ignorant of Naturall, Domesticall Affaires, etc.

§. 2. Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his second Booke of the Historie of Africa. . . . 359

Entertainment of Strangers. Temples and Hospitals. Barbarian Barbarisme. Courteous, Learned Barbarians. An Apostata and pestiferous Mahumetan Preacher. Many religious and devout Hermites upon Mount Iron. The situation and estate of the Region of Maroco. First foundation of Maroco. A stately Temple. Causes of the decay of Maroco. Elmageli a factious preacher. A description of the Castle, contayning a famous Colledge. Christians happie successe against the Moores. Strange tryals in Law. Weekly

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

Truces. Hermite honorable. Sodomie punished. Great grapes. Marble walles. Description of Mount Dedes. Trecherous, Theevish, Slavish and Sluttish people.

§. 3. Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his third Booke of the Historie of Africa. . . . 394

A dangerous seducer. Horrible slaughter and desolation. English traffique. Pilgrimage, much frequented. Bloody warres. Fez besieged seven yeeres together. An exact description of the Citie of Fez. The admirable Temple of Fez, rich revenues, the Colledges. Stately Colledge, rich Hospitals and Bathes in Fez. Baths and Hot-houses. Store of Innes. Many Mills. A description of the Occupations, Shops, and Markets in Fez. Trades, Shops, and Markets of the second part of Fez. Administration of Justice. Punishment of Malefactors. Wearing of civill and decent apparell in Fez. Manner of Mariage, and Circumcision of Children in Fez. Festivall Rites observed. Manner of mourning. Fortune-tellers, Diviners, Witches, Juglers, etc. Cabalists, and the Art Cabala greatly admired. Bagdet sacked. Sects and Sectaries. Superstitious credulitie. Horrible villanie. Cabalists and other Sects. Alchymists. Philosophers. Charmers and Inchanters. Fashions and Customes used in the Kings Court. Places of dignitie, both in Court and in warre. The Revenues, Progresse, and Warfare of the King of Fez. Hunting of Lyons. Fight betwixt a Lyon and a Bull. Saic King of Fez, carryed captive into Portugall. The King of Fez, and his sixe Sonnes murthered. A Cave or hole that continually casteth up fire. Palaces. Temples, and Colledges. Veneration of an old man. A wonderfull Bridge. A fearefull Pit or Hole. The Mountaine of Ravens. Tame Serpents.

§. 4. The most remarkable things of John Leo, in his fourth Booke of the Historie of Africa. 474

Abuchemmeu restored to his Kingdome, by Charles the fifth. The King of Telensin his magnificence. Christian Captives redeemed by the Conquest of Oran. Alger, Tributarie to the King of Spaine.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 5. The most remarkable things in John Leo his fifth Booke of the Historie of Africa, and a description of the Kingdomes of Bugia and Tunis. 486

Inhumane crueltie, though deserved punishment. Snaile Devils. A fond and senselesse Superstition. Rebellious Tebessians beheaded, hanged, and their Citie sacked. The Death of Carthage rising againe in Tunis and Cairaoan. The King of Tunis, saluted King of all Africa. A merrie Confection. The King of Tunis his Royaltie. A River of hot water. The Lake of Leapers. Tripolis taken by the Genoueses. Bloody Arabians.

§. 6. Collections taken out of John Leo his sixt Booke of the Historie of Africa. 506

Plowing with a Horse and a Camell. Great store of Scorpions, no Flies. Jewes expelled. Courteous entertaynment of strangers. Deadly Scorpions. A blind Guide, by smelling of sand conducted the Seeing.

§. 7. Extracts taken out of John Leo his seventh Booke of the Historie of Africa, wherein hee intreateth of the Land of Negros, and of the Confines of Egypt. . . 517

Tombuto, Gualata, and Guinny. Nigers overflowings. Reverence used before the King of Tombuto. Shels used for Coine. Kingdomes of Gagoa, Guber, Cano, Casena. Salt very deare. The King of Zamfara slaine. Slaves exchanged for Horses. Nilus not navigable betweene Nubia and Egypt.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Hondius his Map of the Islands of East India, . 184

Hondius his Map of Ceylon, ... 208

Hondius his Map of Persia, ... 256

Hondius his Map of the East Indies, . . . 272

Hondius his Map of Africa, ... 304

Hondius his Map of the Kingdom of Morocco, . 368

Hondius his Map of the Kingdom of Fez, . . 400

Hondius his Map of Barbary and Egypt, . . 496

THE FIFTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning the further Navigations and Voyages of Englishmen into the East Indies; the Dutch Navigations to the East Indies with Declarations of the Contentions between the Hollanders and the English in the East; with Collections of Things most remarkable in the History of Africa

Chap. VII.

The second Voyage of Captaine Pring into the East-Indies. Or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Joynt Stocke, set forth by the Honorable and Worshipfull of the East-Indie Societie: consisting of five Ships, viz. the James Royall, of burthen a thousand tunnes, Rowland Coytmore Master: the Anne Royall, nine hundred tunnes; Andrew Shilling Master: the Gift, eight hundred tunnes; Nathaniel Salmon Master: the Bull, foure hundred tunnes; Robert Adams Master: the Bee, one hundred and fiftie tunnes; John Hatch Master. All under the Government of Martin Pring.

§. I.

Occurrents in the way, at Surat, Bantam, and Jacatra.

ANno 1616. The fourth of February, our Fleet departed from Gravesend. Thursday the sixth, Master Maurice Abbot, Deputie with divers of the Commissioners were aboord the ships, and mustered all our men and payd their Harborough wages. The next day they departed, and all our men were entred into whole pay. After much foule weather, the fift of March, wee departed

from the Downes. March the seventh, we had the [I. v. 632.] Lizard North foure leagues off, which lyeth in fiftie degrees ten minutes. From the Lizard we steered away by a Meridionall Compasse, giving allowance in all our courses for the Variation. The seven and twentieth, 1617. at noone we had in latitude twentie eight degrees ten minutes, the North-east point of the Gran Canaries West North-west five leagues off.

The two and twentieth of June, we had sight of Soldania point, and the same afternoone anchored in the Bay, whence we departed on the thirteenth of July. On the three and twentieth, we descryed Terra de Natal.

The third of August, we descryed the land of Saint Laurence, in twentie two degrees fortie sixe minutes of latitude. On the eleventh, we saw the Ile of Molalia. The Kings name is Fanno Mary O Fannadill: Pæmon **An Eclipse.* the name of the Port where we *road: Commoro by the Inhabitants is called Angazija. The next Iland to the East is Joanna: and the next to the East-ward of that is Mawotta.

The sixe of August, at night the Moone was totally eclipsed, when the foot of the Crosiers was nine above the Horizon: it began at eight, and continued til it was past eleven, and was totally eclipsed for the space of an houre and halfe. The five and twentieth of August, at night betweene seven and eight a clocke in South latitude foure degrees twentie minutes, the water of the Sea seemed almost as white as Milke, and so continued till the next morning: and then as the day came on the water began to alter againe. The next night wee were in the same water againe, but not altogether so white. The thirtieth, before day we saw the fore-said white water againe: and likewise the next night, but could find no ground.

The eight of September, we mounted the rest of our Ordnance; this night at twelve of the clocke we had six foote and an halfe water in hold, which in foure houres

with both Pumps was freed, and after that the Pumps did sucke so much in the space of halfe an houre, that it would rise twelve inches water.

The ninth, in the morning, I caused the Chiefe Commanders of the Fleete to come aboord, where after that I had given them notice of the Accident, I willed them to send for their carpenters to have their advice in searching for the Leake, and some of their Companies besides to helpe our men to pumpe; others to rummage in hold, and the rest to stitch our sprit-sayle with Ocom, wherewith we made tryall divers times under the bildge of the shippe, but could not find the Leake, yet by divers experiments within boord, we found that the Leake was before the Mast, and therefore the next morning being the tenth, wee fitted our sprit-sayle againe, as before, and let it downe before the sterne of the ship, and so brought it afterwards on by degrees, untill by our judgement it was under the scarfe of the keele, and the sterne, and there (God bee praysed) our Leake was partly stopped, for it rose not above sixe inches in a Glasse, where before it rose twelve inches. After this comfortable newes, we steered away our course, and within three Glasses after the Ocom was washed out, so that we came to our old stint againe; this night we sent for one of the Buls Pumpes to free our water from before, where there was alwayes till then a foot and an halfe water more then was in the Well.

A great and dangerous Leake.

The eleventh, we fitted our sprit-saile with Ocom, and let it downe againe, in which action it pleased God so to favour us, that within an houre after, our shippe was thighter then at any time before, which I pray God long to continue.

The twelfth, in the morning we descryed a sayle which the Gift did fetch up in the afternoone: this was a Portugall which came from Moçambique, having about fiftie Kintals of Elephants teeth. In the morning, the Bee came to us from Swally Road, and gave us intelligence of the rest of the Fleet, that they were all in safetie in the

This ship did belong to Don Pedro de Almeyda, and also most of the goods. Moçambique.

Road of Swally, which was no small joy unto us. Likewise, we understood that they had brought the Juncke and the two shippes, which they chased the sixteenth of this moneth, into the Road with them; the Juncke beeing a great ship of Surat, belonging to the Mother Queene, the other two English shippes which had her in chase, the one of the ships was called the Francis, a ship of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, belonging to ( ) the other the Lion of one hundred and twentie tuns, set forth by Philip Bernardy, an Italian Merchant in London. The Captaine in the Francis was Neuce, and of the Lion, Thomas Jones, who in former time had beene Boat-swaine of the Hector.

Captain Neuce and Jones.

This evening (God be praysed) we arrived in Swally Road without the Sands, where wee found the rest of the Fleet; the fore-said Juncke, and the two English-men of Warre; the Bull and the Lion being got in on the barre. The five and twentieth, I gave order that the Francis should goe in also, that we might be more secure of her and her Consort; the same evening, the Bee and the Prize went in also.

At our arrivall at Swally, wee heard of two Dutch ships cast away at Gowdever, viz. the Rotterdam of a thousand tunnes, and a small Pinasse; the one forced ashoare the 18. the other, the 19. of July 1617. one in sight of another.

The ninth of October, at night, I sent up one and twentie chests of Corall to Surat, which was landed from the Anne two dayes before; at night I sent eight tunne, foure hundred of Elephants teeth to Surat from the Prize. In the morning, wee had a consultation aboord the James, where it was determined that the Anne or Gift, should by Gods grace bee laden for England.

Portugall spies.

This afternoone, twentie sayle of Frigats from Goa, arrived at the barre of Surat, the Captaine Major, Don Pedro de Asadedo, from one of those Frigats, five of the Countrey people came ashoare amongst our men, which being discovered, three of them fled and two were taken by our guard, who confessed that they came from Goa a moneth before, being commanded by the Vice-Regent to range the Coast, to discover the English; which found, they were to returne againe, if not descryed, to proceed on for Cambaya to waste the Caffallo.

[I. v. 633.]

A.D. 1617.

The fourteenth in the morning, I sent fourteene tunne of Elephants teeth to Surat, from the Prize, which were guarded up with thirtie sixe men that went for the Convoy of our mony to Amadavar. The seventeenth, wee sent up twelve tunne, and foure hundred teeth.

**This morning, the 17. saile of Frigats departed for Cambaya, passing faire by us.*

The seventeene Frigats aforesaid returned againe faire by us, and stood to the South-ward, we sent the rest of our teeth to Surat. On the two and twentieth, and this afternoone we landed sixteene chests of Corall, and two of Mors teeth from the Bull.

The fourteenth of November, being Friday, we dispeeded the Bee for Jasques, a monethes pay was given to all the Company in the Fleet, (the chiefe Commanders and the Merchants excepted) which amounted to three thousand three hundred and two Rials of eight. And after that, this afternoone we landed cloth, Tinne, Cases of Wine, and strong Waters, with the rest of the Presents that were in the Cabbin.

The seventeenth of January, being Saturday, the Bee returned from Persia: this day seven Mallabar Junckes Road in the offing, to whom I sent out the Francis, who brought in two of them, and the Bee other two.

Thursday, the twelfth of March, we departed from Swally Road, the same evening we anchored neere the Barre of Surat. The seventeenth, in the morning, the wind veered up Northerly, and in the afternoone the Anne departed from us, bound for the Red Sea. Tuesday, the eighteenth, I dispeeded the Bull. At noone wee had gone South-east by South twelve leagues, latitude, eleven degrees twentie five minutes, the winds (as foure or five dayes before) at night a little breath off the shoare, by day in the afternoone a fresh gale from the Sea; this day in the fore-noone we saw eight sayle of ships to the South-wards of us, and three betweene us and the shoare; moreover, two Gallies and ten Frigats, these were chased to the North-wards, by the Bee and the Francis, which I had sent the night before, to keepe faire the shoare.

The eight and twentieth; in the afternoone the Francis and the Bee being neere the shoare, and thwart of *K. of Calicut.* Callicut; the King sent off a Boat pretending to bee very desirous to speake with me, but I was too farre shot to the South-wards before that I heard the newes.

Brin Jan and the refreshing there. The second of Aprill, 1618. in the morning, we got into the Bay of Brin Jan, where we anchored in fourteene fathome water, within halfe a league of the Towne, a high picked hill like unto a Sugar-loafe, bearing North-east by East by the Compasse, which is the best marke if it be cleane, to know the place; here is good refreshing to bee had, Hennes and Coco Nuts in abundance, Goates and great store of fish, also good fresh water springing from a Rocke; but wee were faine to pay seventie Rials of eight, a Vest of Cloth, a small Peece, a Looking-glasse, and a Sword, and all too little to give her content. For after the Governour had received the Present with the mony, and granted us leave, he came againe *Perfidious people.* with seven or eight hundred men, and demanded more money, and had we not kept a strong guard at the spring, hee would have put us by it after our money was paid. Sunday, the fifth, at one of the clocke at night, the wind comming off the shoare, we weighed anchor and departed. This evening we were thwart of a headland, which lyeth South-east by East from Brin Jan eight leagues, from whence unto the Cape East, two thirds South are seven leagues. Neere unto the first head-land *Dangerous Rockes.* lyeth two Rockes a good heighth above water, and a mile without them, there is a most dangerous Rocke, which is even with the surface of the water, but if you come not within twentie sixe fathome, you shall goe cleere enough.

Cape Commorine. On the seventh, in the evening at sixe we had Cape Commorin North North-east one third, North five leagues off, being in thirtie fathome. The nineteenth of June, Captaine Ball and Master Pickham came aboord. This afternoone (God bee praysed) wee arrived in the Roade of Bantam.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Pangram, to compose the matter betweene Captaine Ball and the Chineses, whose Juncke Captaine Ball had arrested for certaine debts due by the Chineses; where (according to Captaine Balls desire) I made proffer of the re-delivery of the Juncke, conditionally, that the Pangram would doe us Justice; which he passed his word to performe. Munday, the sixth of July, in the afternoone, I went againe to the Pangram, Master George Ball, Master Rich, Master Pickham, and divers other Merchants in company. His malice was so great against Master Ball, that he would not grant him accesse, whereupon I sent him word that Master Ball had brought the bils of debt, and was onely able to give a reason of all passages betwixt the English and the Chineses, whereof I was utterly ignorant, his Messenger returned the second time, and told me that Master Ball might not be admitted, and so wee left the Court.

Bantam.

Pangram of Bantam his unjustice.

The first of September in the morning, the wind being off the shoare, we weighed, and stood towards Point Ayre, keeping along in seven fathome upon the maine, untill wee were within three miles of the said Point, where we had seven fathom wanting a quarter the one cast, and the next but three fathom; some supposing that our ship did touch, but I could not perceive it. Off this Point there lieth a flat shoald almost with the frame of the water, but you have seven fathom within two Cables length of it. This afternoone, as we stood in with the Dutch ships, which rode in the faire way betwixt the two Ilands, even as wee came within a mile of the ships, our ship came aground, but (God be praysed) we got her off againe without any hurt at all, and so stood in the Bay, where againe wee came within two Cables length of another shoald, which lieth South-east by South from the Flemmish Iles, one league and an halfe off.

Point Ayre.

[I. v. 634.]

The Dutch had 3. great ships, which did ride right in the way that wee were to passe: 3 at the Careening place, and 1. in the Road of Jacatra.

Wednesday, the second of September in the afternoone, it pleased God to bring us into the Road of Jacatra

Deliverance from 3. dangers. in safety, having delivered us from three imminent dangers the day before, God grant we may alwaies remember it with praise and thankesgiving to his holy Name.

The 19. of this moneth, the Angel a Dutch ship of 500. tunnes, came from Amboyna laden with nuts & cloves, and departed from thence the 25. of the same.

The sixe and twentieth of September, being Saturday, early in the morning, I went to visite the King the second time, remayning in his Parke; and finding him in a pleasant vaine, I moved him concerning of former businesse; and before I left him, we came to a finall conclusion, which was this: First, in consideration of our free importation and exportation of all manner of Commodities, to give him seven hundred Rials of eight per annum, and fifteene hundred Rials of eight, for a plat of ground to build on.

§. II.

Dutch wrongs, and the Fights betwixt Sir Thomas Dale and them.

SUnday, the seven and twentieth in the evening, Master Bishop arrived in this Road, in a Praw, which came from Japparra, wherein was a Cogee which brought the Matran his Letter to Captaine Ball, wherefore I dispeeded him for Bantam the same night: he left two English behind him at Japparra, one of them being fled from the Dutch, and had Letters from divers of our People that are prisoners in the Moluccas, and amongst the rest, one was directed unto me from Master Richard Tatten, wherein he complaineth very much of the boarish usage of the Dutch, that will hardly allow them Rice to put in their bellies, and that upon every idle newes of the comming of any ships, they are still put in Irons.

Dutch injuries to the English.

French ship taken by Dutch.

The thirteenth of October in the evening, Cornelius Marthon, Commander of the French ship taken by the Dutch, came into the Road, and the same night came aboord of me, and after some discourse told me, that we had sixe ships comming for this place out of England, Sir

Thomas Dale Admirall, for some speciall businesse at the Moluccas, and that hee was bound thither with the French ship, the Souldhailer, and the Neptune, to attend the comming of good friends. The seven and twentieth in the evening, wee had foure foot and an halfe water in the James Royall, which wee freed in two houres with both our Pumpes, and afterward kept our Pumpe going untill the next morning about ten of the clocke, at which time by letting downe of a sayle basted with Ocum, it pleased God to stop the leake againe. The one and thirtieth, I discovered a place for the careening of the James Royall, upon the little Iland, that lieth next within Tanium point in the Bay of Bantam, we made all things readie to repaire unto the foresaid Iland.

Sir Thomas Dale Admirall of sixe ships.

A leake againe.

Tanium point.

The fifteenth of November, the Rose arrived from Teco, bringing newes that the Hollanders had a Factorie there established soone after that ours was dissolved. The nineteenth, the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, and the Pepper-corne, arrived from England, and anchored betweene Viun point, and Poolo-Paniang. This day I went aboord of them, taking with me such fresh victuals as our ship did affoord to congratulate their comming. Comming neere, I perceived the Clove to be Admirall, and therefore went first aboord of her, where I found Sir Thomas Dale the chiefe Commander, and Captaine Jordaine the President; I understood by them, that they lost companie of the Globe to the Westward of the Cape, and (which was farre worse) that they left the Sunne (Admirall of the Fleet) in great danger of casting away, upon the Ile of Engano: they themselves having much adoe to double the Iland. Two dayes they rode still in this place expecting her comming, which was long before bildged upon the Rockes, as afterwards we understood to our great griefe. The two and twentieth in the morning, the foresaid ships stood in for Bantam Road, and as they passed by the Iland where our ship lay, wee saluted them with fifteene Peeces of Ordnance, which we had formerly planted on the shoare, and withall, tooke in our Flag,

Viun Point.
Polo Paniang.

Sunne lost at Engano.

to shew our respect to Sir Thomas Dale, the Admirall of that Fleet.

The eight and twentieth of November, came two boats from Engano, with sixtie eight of the Sunnes men, who brought lamentable newes of the losse of the said ship with many of the companie, upon the foresaid Iland. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Globe arrived; this day our leake brake out againe, but was quickly stopped (God bee praised) by remooving of the Bonnet. The thirtieth, our ship being cleared from stemme to sterne, the Carpenter went downe to search for the leake, and as they passed forward, still taking up the seeling as they went, in the formost roome saving one, they found the leake being an augur hole left open in the middle of the keele; which was foure inches and three quarters about, which leake, if it had sprung upon us alone in the Sea, would have tired all our companie in foure and twentie houres, herein the great mercie of God did manifestly appeare, in that it never brake out but when we had a Fleet about us for our aide, God give us grace alwaies to remember it with praise and thanksgiving to his holy Name.

Leake againe.

[I. v. 635.] *Their leake found, being an augur hole left open.*

The second of December being Saturday, Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Ball came aboord, because we had proclaimed a Fast through both the Fleets, and the Exercise to bee aboord the James the next day, which was the Sabbath: on which morning, the President and divers Merchants came aboord, bringing Master Wrenne in companie: the Preacher of the Sunne, who exercised in the fore-noone, and Master Copeland our Minister, in the after-noone. This day the Bee set saile for Engano, being formerly ordained to goe thither, in hope to recover some moneys and goods they hold of the Sunne. The fourth in the after-noone, the Swart Leo arrived from Potania, and rode to the Westward of Poolo Paniang; Master Denton in regard of his acquaintance amongst the Dutch, was sent aboord of her in the barge, to enquire from whence shee came: who when he came aboord,

A Fast in both Fleets.

Master Wrenne, and Copland.

found one Hendricke Janson his old acquaintance, a man that had beene chiefe Factor for the Dutch in Potania a long time. This man with another inferiour Factor came aboord the Moone with Master Denton, where they were well entertained, till Sir Thomas Dale came aboord, and soone after were set on shoare at Bantam the same night, before day we resolved to goe forth with foure ships, the Moone, the Clove, the Globe, and the Samson, that we might the better incompasse her. At breake of day wee were faire by her, and after a few exchange of Parles, they yeelded up their ship, upon condition that they might depart with all such goods, as did properly belong unto them. On the sixt, we brought her in neere the Iland where we had left the rest of our Fleet.

The Blacke Lion a Dutch ship taken.

The fourteenth, the Bee returned againe beaten back with foule weather, that she was not able to get out of the Straights. On the sixteenth in the after-noone, there came twentie Portuguezes aboord the James Royall, fled from the Dutch at Jacatra, which were freely received, and kindly entertained. This evening, we were readie to set saile with eleven ships great and small for Jacatra, in hope to beat away the Dutch ships from thence; The names of the ships were the Moone, in which Sir Thomas Dale went, the Gift, wherein I went my selfe, the Unicorne, the Clove, the Globe, the Samson, the Pepper-corne, the Thomas, the Bee, the Rose, and the Swart Leo; leaving behind us the James Royall, there to take in her provisions, also the Prize, and the Advice, because they had most of her provision in them. The nineteenth in the morning, wee set saile with our Fleet aforesaid, and the same day wee anchored betweene Poolo Paniang, and Poolo Tunda. The twentieth in the evening, we anchored with all our Fleet about a league to the Northwards of Hector-Iland. This night we sent the barge to the Flemmish Ilands, where they found no people at all upon the Souther Iland, there lay a Dutch Galley which they set on fire, and so returned aboord the same night. This evening, wee descried seven roders in the Bay of Jacatra.

The English ships.

The one and twentieth early in the morning, these seven ships stood off with us untill they were somewhat neere the Ilands, and there they came to an anchor altogether. This afternoone we stood in towards them, and anchored a mile to windward of their Fleet. This evening, we had a consultation aboord the Moone, where it was resolved, That the next morning we should assault the Holland Fleet in manner following: The Globe, and the Samson, for the Sunne; and the Thomas to passe in betweene them, fitted with combustible matter to set her on fire; the Moone, and the Clove, for the Golden Lion; the Gift, and the Bee, for to attempt the Angell; the Unicorne, and the Rose, for the Devill of Delfe; the Peppercorne was sent forth to surprise the burget boat come from Jambee; riding about three leagues off; whose boat with thirteene men, our barge had taken as shee was standing in with the Holland Fleet, about seven of the clocke at night: this our determination being written downe, we departed aboord every man to his charge, but after we were gone, Sir Thomas Dale sent his boat aboord the Thomas, for three Sakers, which held them in worke till eight the next morning, so that the Hollanders were all away before these Ordnance were aboord the Moone, which made us all in a hurliburly to weigh, and get to seawards, that we might have sea-roome, and the advantage of the sea-turne; the which at length wee attained, getting without the Iles of Point Aire: the Holland Fleet passing betweene them and the maine of Java. So that the same night they anchored faire above the Coast of Java; and our Fleet in the offing without the Ilands.

Consultation for the Fight betwixt the English and Dutch Fleets.

On the three and twentieth, in the morning, the Holland Fleet stood off to the Westward close under Anti-Lackie. The Devill of Delft borrowing so neere that shee came aground, and sate fast for a quarter of an houre; which was no sooner perceived by us, but forthwith we made towards them with all our Fleet; yet before we drew any thing neere, she was slipt off againe; and shee with all the rest of the Fleet standing off to

The Fight. See Master Corthops Journall, where you may read Sir Tho. Dales Letter, and Master Jordans.

the Northwards: our Fleet having the weather gadge, wee paid roome upon them, till wee came within shot, and then the Moone, (wherein was Sir Thomas Dale the Admirall) beganne the fight with the headmost ship of the Dutch, named the Sunne; our fight continued the space of three houres, during which time wee spent some twelve hundred great shot amongst them, and so left them for that night; they standing off so farre to the [I. v. 636.] Northwards, that they got the Burger boat into their companie, and then anchored to the westwards of us, about halfe a league: there they rode all night.

The foure and twentieth, both Fleets weighed anchor, ours plying to the westward to gaine the wind; and the Hollanders ranne in to the shoare, towards Point Aire: in the meane time wee descried three Saile comming from the westward afore the wind, which comming neere, we perceived to be the little James, the Hound, and the Francois; and after they were come neere us, we joyned all together, and chased the Holland Fleet, through the Bay of Jacatra unto the Easterne point of the same; where wee all came to an anchor in the evening. This night there was a Junke sent from the Flemmings at Jacatra, filled with combustible matter, and set on a light fire, which came so neere unto our Fleet, that we were faine to weigh our anchors and be gone. The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, wee saw the Flemmish Fleet againe, standing to the Eastwards, and the same day, wee sent out our barge to follow them all night, and see what course they tooke, because we had left the James Royall in the Bay of Bantam, with the Advice, and the Prize, which ships they might have surprised, if they should get Bantam before us; for there was no ship of defence, but the James, and shee unprepared, by taking in of her goods.

The seven and twentieth after midnight, the Blacke Lion was set on fire by the wretched carelesnesse of three wicked fellowes, and burnt downe to the water. The thirtieth in the morning, the President went ashoare to

John Jordan went ashoare at Jacatra.

the King of Jacatra, with Master John Jackson in companie, to view their fortifications, where an unfortunate shot tooke away his leg, and so consequently his life.

Master Jackson slaine.

The first of Januarie, the James Royall, the Advice, and the Prize, arrived from Bantam. The second, Sir Thomas Dale went a shoare to visite the King of Jacatra, and to understand his resolution concerning the Dutch Fort: The King gave both the President and him great content in words, promising to grant any reasonable request, if the English would assist him in surprising of the Dutch Castle. This morning before day, the Francois departed for Polaroone, with divers provisions for reliefe of that worshipfull Gentleman, Master Nathaniel Corthop, and his companie, God send her thither in safetie. The sixt day, we held a consultation aboord the Moone, where it was resolved, That out of our greater ships we should land six Peeces, three Culverings, and three Demiculverings, with powder and shot, convenient to assist the King of Jaccatra against the Dutch, also that Sir Thomas Dale should remaine in the Road with eight Saile, to countenance the businesse, and my selfe with sixe ships to plie for the Straits of Sunda, to lie in wait for the Holland Fleet. The five and twentieth, being Munday, wee got into the Road of Becee, and anchored in fifteene fathoms oze, about two miles from the shoare, the South point of Becee, bearing South-west one quarter West, and the North point of Sabajoa (the Wester Ile of Poolo Tiga, being shut in upon it) did beare North by West three leagues off. The twentie seven and twentie eight, we watered our ships, and cut wood; and my selfe with Master Coitmore, and other Masters went ashoare twice, to view the Harbour; which wee found to bee an excellent place for refuge of a small Fleet against a greater force. The one and thirtieth, by order from the President, we put into Bantam Road with our Fleet.

Aide to the King of Jacatra.

The first of Februarie, Captaine John Jourdan the President came aboord; who acquainted me with all the passages betwixt them and the Dutch, in the Castle of

Jacatra, during the time of my absence; which was that the Dutch had condescended to deliver over their Fort unto the English, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and a ship for two thousand Rials of eight, to carrie them for Coromandell. On the fourth, Sir Thomas Dale with sixe ships, viz. the Moone, the Clove, the James, the Peppercorne, the Hound, and the Advice, arrived in Bantam Road. This afternoone, the rest of the ships came in. Here, after our arrivall understanding that the Pomgram of Bantam had dealt underhand with the Dutch, to have the Castle of Jaccatra delivered into his hands (who before had unjustly disappointed us of it) we thought it fitting, that the President, and the rest of the Principals should repaire aboord, and forthwith to get all their goods and provision from the shoare. The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, we were imployed in getting the Honourable Companies moneys and goods aboord the ships: during this time, the Pangram sent divers slight messengers unto the President, to demand (as from themselves) the reason of his departure, he (as he said) giving them no other just occasion, so to leave his Countrey: whereupon the President drew certaine Articles of the severall wrongs and grievances, that the English had received from time to time at his hands, which were to bee translated into the Java language, and sent unto him.

This agreement was crossed by the Pangram of Bantam who gave us leave to beat the bush, and thought himselfe to have caught the birds, but in fine was deceived.

The seventeenth, Master Ufflet advised from Jacatra, that the Flemmings were fortifying daily. And also, that when the Messengers of the Pangran demanded the surrender of their Fort, with part of their Moneyes, Goods and Ordnances; They answered, That it was their Masters goods, and therefore not fit for them to give them away. About noone, wee heard of the arrivall of two Dutch ships, in the Road of Jacatra. The same night, Sir Thomas Dale with eight ships, went for Jacatra, in quest of the said ships, and I remayned here with foure to attend upon the President. The sixe and twentieth, we [I. v. 637.]

had certaine intelligence that foure Holland ships were at anchor in the mouth of the streights of Sunda: this evening we went out with the James Royall, the Gift, the Unicorne, and the little James; and the next morning anchored neere Poolo-Pen-Iang, to pridy up our ships, and to take in water and planks that lay by our side.

The first of March in the morning, we weighed againe, and plyed towards the mouth of the Streights, where we descried the foure Dutch ships aforesaid at anchor, neere unto the Iland called Tamporon, which lyeth about three leagues to the Westward of Viun or Pallambam point. So soone as we descried them we made towards them with all speed: and they in a carelesse fashion plyed it to and againe with their top sailes halfe mast downe, and at length as wee drew neere unto them, the Admirall and the rest bore up with our ship, being the winder most of our Fleet; and gave us two shot, one through the ships side under the halfe decke; and the other in the steeridge side.

Dutch bravery.

Vinivalencie of the Dutch.

This I declare, because men may the better understand the insolencie, or rather vinivalencie of this arrogant Nation, to come on with such a Spanish bravado, and so soone to run away. They had no sooner begun, but they were as quickly answered from our ship, in such a measure, that within the space of two houres (by the gracious assistance of Almightie God) wee made them as quiet as Lambs; the Admirall, that first gave the on-set, being the first that ran away, and after him all his Fleet; whom we chased untill night, and then finding them too light of foote, gave over the chase. The night wee stood over towards Poolo Tunda. The second in the afternoone, we anchored againe in the Road of Bantam; this day we had newes from Jacatra, that one of the two Dutch ships aforenamed, was fast on ground hard by their Castle, and that they themselves at sight of Sir Thomas Dales fleet, had set her on fire. The other ship which tooke in some rich goods out of the Castle, was likewise

Their flight.

Dutch ship burnt, and another cast away.

cast away upon certaine Rocks, ten leagues to the Eastwards off Jacatra. The fourth dicto, we received the Letter from Jo. Powell, residing in Jacatra, that Sir Tho. Dale departed from thence the first of March with the Moone, the Hound, the Rose, and the Bee, to search out the Flemming that was cast away. The fourteenth in the forenoone, we had newes from Sir Thomas Dale, that hee had gotten almost in shot of these foure ships; and then they were taken with a calme the space of twelve houres, and after this calme there did arise a tempest *A Tempest.* in the night, which scattered them so farre asunder, that the next morning they were out of hope of their chase, and so returned to point Ayre againe, determining forthwith to come unto us with the Moone, and to leave the rest of his Fleet to take in some provisions from Jacatra.

The of March, we consulted aboord the Unicorne, of our best course to bee taken with the Fleet, where it was resolved, that we should goe for the Coast of Coromandell, which (as we were informed) is a good Countrey for the health of men, and abounding with Rice, Wheat, Butter, Gravances, &c. which could not here be had for any money.

§. III.

Their departure for Coromandell: Occurrents there: Sir Thomas Dales death. English ships taken by the Dutch. Consultation and provisions at Teco, and departure thence.

APrill 19. 1619. being Munday, all our ships being together that were in this place, and the three Junks at anchor amongst us, wee resolved in counsell to put the honorable Companies Commission in execution, which was to appropriate the Chineses goods unto them for former debts. On Tuesday, Kewee came aboord to the President, accompanyed with the three Nochadas or Captaines of the Juncks, to know his intent;

who answered them, That if the young King of Bantam would displace the Pangran, he would then come and Bichar with him, and deliver over the Juncks againe. The eight and twentieth in the morning, all our Fleet being readie to set saile, intending to goe for Morrogh, there to take in water, and to discharge the Juncks; we descried a saile comming in from the Westward about Pallambam point, which we found to be a Portugall Frigat, taken at Jasques, and having twentie English men aboord of her, and was sent from Captaine Bonner, as an advise to the President in Bantam. These men gave us to understand, that Sir Thomas Roe the Lord Embassador, was gone for England in the Anne Royall, having quitted the Countrey with great honour and reputation, both for himselfe and the honorable Companie our Employers. Bodman, who was the cause of setting the Black Lion on fire, was hanged. On the two and twentieth of May, this night wee set saile from hence.

Morrogh.

Sir Tho. Roes returne to England.

The thirtieth, we parted with Sir Thomas Dale, who haled in with his Fleet, under the Iland: and we held on our course for Messulapatan, having in companie the Gift, the Unicorne, and the Bee. The thirtieth of June in the morning, wee anchored in nine fathome about two leagues of the shoare on the Coast of Coromandell, here we road for the space of foure dayes, during which time, we were hardly able to visit one another, by reason of the West South-west windes, and the continuall Currents setting to the East North-east. The breach also was so loftie on the shoare, that we durst not adventure to put to shoare with any of our boats. At length when we met together, Master Roberts, Master of the Unicorne, gave me notice of a Bay, lying in seventeene degrees upon this Coast, about five leagues to the Eastwards of Nassapore, where there was good riding for a Westerly Monson, which was the onely thing I now desired, seeing there was no hope against Winde and Tyde to recover Messulapatan. The fourth in the morning, we set saile and stood to the Eastward, the Coast

[I. v. 638.] *The cause that put us to leeward of Messulapatan, was the violence of the Westerly winds, and the Current setting so strong to the Eastward.*

lying West South-west, and East North-east, and having run about nine leagues by judgement with the Wind and Current, wee found the Land to lye away North, and North and by West, which gave mee some hope of a good Road: by this point of Land there commeth out a great River, the streame whereof hath raised a great Rise or Shoald of the sharpe of the Point, extending it selfe halfe a mile into the Sea, which maketh the smoother Road about the point, for you may bring the said sand South South-west, and ride in sixe degrees and an halfe fathome Oze, two miles off the neerest Land. Two leagues from the Northwards of this point (which for distinctions sake I call Cape Comfort) issueth out another branch of the former River, which maketh the head-land it selfe an Iland, of the mouth of this River lyeth likewise a long ridge of sand which is drie at low water; the Northermost point of this ridge beareth North-west halfe a degree West from us, where we ride in sixe fathome and an halfe, three miles off; and the shoald of Cape Comfort beareth South South-west three miles from you, and the neerest land between them both about two miles off: The next point to the Northwards of Cape Comfort is three leagues & a third part distant from it, and did beare from us (whence we road) North North-west, halfe a degree West, two leagues and a third part off; to the Eastward of this point lyeth another sandie Shoald, the Eastermost part of it bearing North from us about foure miles off: in the setting of all these Points and Shoalds, I have allowed the variation, which in this place is twelve degrees neerest.

From the place where we first anchored unto the foresaid point, which we supposed to be nine leagues we had seven fathom water, all alongst two leagues or two leagues and a half off soft Ozie.

Cape Comfort.

The fourth of July, in the afternoone, we sent the Unicornes Shallop into the second branch of the River (which we call Mullet Sound) to see if they could discover any Towne, where they might procure a Guide to conduct Robert Pickering and William Clarke unto Messulapatan, by whom we had sent our Letter to Master Methwould. Tuesday, the sixt in the morning, the Shallop returned aboord, reporting that they had gotten a

Mullet Sound.

Guide to direct our Messengers at a little Village three leagues up the River; they brought aboord twentie Hennes which cost two shillings. Friday in the afternoone, the Barge returned aboord from Captaine Ball with one and seventie Goates and Sheepe, and nine and thirtie Hennes, leaving Captaine Ball and the rest at a Towne called Narsapela, which is sixe leagues up in the Countrey. The twelfth in the morning, Master Methwould came from Messulapatan in one of the Countrey *Provisions.* Boats, and brought with him twentie Hogs, two great Jarres of Racke, sixe Goats, and two baskets of Bread; hee brought us newes of a Dutch ship richly laden, in the Port of Messulapatan, and readie to depart for Holland.

The sixe and twentieth in the evening, I went in the Barge to seeke out some Barge which might lead us unto *Vingeron.* Vingeron, the chiefest Towne that is neerest the Sea side: *Coranga.* The same night I passed in over the Barre of Coranga, and about two miles up in the River, I lodged in the town of Coranga, where I found the chiefest of the town very readie to entertayne us in the best manner they could, and gave the Governour of Vingeron notice of my comming the same night. The next morning, having rowed up about three miles in the mayne River, and two miles in a little Creeke we had sight of Vingeron about twelve miles off. Here I landed and went towards the Towne; but before I came to the Townes end, the Governour sent his Horse for mee with all the musique that the place affoorded; amongst other instruments there were two huge brasse Hornes in stead of Trumpets: The Governour received mee very kindly, but more kindly my Present, which was two pieces China Velvets, and sixe pieces China Taffataes; our congratulations ended, I tooke my leave of him, who had then caused his Pallankeen to be made readie to conveigh me unto my lodging, which was an house neere at hand, that he himselfe had alotted for mee.

The first of August, I returned aboord the James,

where to my griefe I understood, that the Unicornes shallop was cast away three dayes before, neere unto Ponara. Master Harris being drowned with two of the Coxsons gang, and one Blacke; Captaine Spaulding, Master Yard, and the rest, very hardly escaping the danger. Saturday in the morning, the Governour of Vingeron came aboord to see our ship, in expectation of some great Present; on whom I bestowed a piece of China Damaske, and foure pieces of China Taffataes, which gave him more content then the sight of a thousand ships, and so hee departed, when he saw that begging could no further prevaile. On Munday the three and twentieth, I caused our men to repaire aboord, intending to ply up towards Messulapatan: This evening wee got aboord two hundred and fiftie Goats for our provisions at Sea.

Men drowned neere to Ponara.

Tuesday in the afternoone, here arrived a Ballegat from Nassapora, bringing in her twentie sixe Candees of Gravances, a Candee of Butter, and one hundred Gallons of Racke; this day I received letters from Messulapatan, importing the dolefull newes of the death of Sir Tho. Dale, he departed out of this life the ninth of August, 1619. in Messulapatan.

Provisions.

[I. v. 639.] *The death of Sir Tho. Dale.*

Munday, the sixt of September, in the morning, having road most part of the former night about three leagues South South-east from the Barre of Nassapore in nineteene fathome, finding the wind at North-west, we set saile againe and plyed it up towards Messulapatan. This night we anchored foure leagues to the Eastwards of Messulapatan.

Of the River of Nassapore, we found the Current by day to set South South-east, by night North North-east, after halfe a league an houre.

The seventh in the morning, wee saw the English ships in the Road of Messulapatan foure leagues off. This afternoone, the Bee being farre southerly, wee stretcht it alongst the shoare, and in the evening arrived in the Road of Messulapatan; where we found the Moone, the Clove, the Globe, and the Advice, which being found unserviceable was here cast off, and her provisions put aboord the Moone and the Clove. Wed-

They arrive at Massulapatam.

nesday, in the morning, Master Spaulding, Master Ball, and Master Methwould, came aboord the James, giving mee notice of all matters that had passed in my absence, also of the state of the honorable Companies businesse at present. This afternoone I accompanyed them ashoare, that we might the better consult and determine how to proceed in these weightie affaires; the first thing proposed, was the union of both Fleets, which was thought most necessarie, and therefore soone concluded, which businesse ended, they made choise of me to be Admirall and chiefe Commander of all these Ships and Men thus united, according to the honorable Companies direction. The eighteenth of October, being Munday, here arrived a ship from Mocha belonging to the Towne, who brought us newes of the Lion being at Mocha, and a small Frigat in her companie. The Bee arrived from Nassaporpete, with provisions from the Fleet.

Both fleets united.

Capt. Pring Admirall of both.

The Lion at Mocha in the Red Sea. Novemb. 6.

Nassaporpete.

The nineteenth, the Dragons Claw came from Nassaporpete, almost laden with Rice and Paddie. Thursday, the ninth of December, in the afternoone, Master Ball, Master Methwould, and the rest of the Merchants, that were to remayne in this Countrey, went ashoare.

Friday, the tenth, in the morning, we left the Road of Messulepatan, and in the afternoone anchored of the head-land to stay for the Pepper-corne, which came out to us in the evening. Betweene the Ile Engano and Messulepatan, I made nineteene degrees and thirtie minutes of great Circle in longitude, which although it give not the true longitude in these parts neere the Equinoctiall, custome hath called it so, and so doe I, because I would not favour of innovation. The next morning very early, we descried the Land of Sumatra, the Hill of Passaman, bearing East North-east halfe North twelve leagues, and the high land of Priaman East halfe South fourteene leagues off. Here we met with two Shoalds, the one within a mile to the Eastward of the other; the Gift came over the Eastermost, and had no lesse than foure fathom and a halfe:

The longitude betweene Engano and Masulipatan.

Passaman in Sumatra.

Two Shoalds and their escape.

over the Wester Shoald I sent the Claw, who found foure fathom in the first place she crossed it, and had but two fathom as shee returned, which was a little more to the Northward. This morning before day, the wind began to duller againe, which was the onely meanes that pleased God to use for our preservation, his holy Name bee praised for the same. This morning about nine, the wind came up South-east, and so continued untill three in the afternoone, which brought us to the Southward of all these Shoalds againe, and so with little wind we spent all the next night betweene the foresaid Shoalds and the Ile of Battoo. A sagging Current setting to the Northwards, brought us so neere unto these Shoalds; for had the Current, as in former time set away to the South-east, our course would have lead us neere unto Tecoo, but contrarie to our expectation, wee found that it had carried us to the Northward, and this deceived our judgement. *Ile Battoo.* *Tecoo.*

The foure and twentieth of Januarie in the morning, the Hill of Passaman did beare East North-east one third part Northerly, and the high land of Priaman East one third part South twelve leagues: here we saw a drie Shoald in form of the Hull of a great Boat, lying South-west by West of the Hill of Passaman, about ten leagues from the shoare, and West North-west from this Shoald foure leagues, wee saw the breach of another Shoald, which by Gods gracious providence we happily escaped. This evening at sixe of the clocke, we had sight of the Iles of Tecoo, and halfe an houre before eight, we anchored in fortie foure fathom streamie ground, the said Iles of Tecoo bearing East by North seven leagues off. Tuesday, the five and twentieth in the afternoone, with the first of the Seaturne, we weighed againe and steered in towards Tecoo. As we drew neere we descried three saile, standing to the Northwards of the Ile of Tecoo; which ships came to anchor faire by the shoare the same night; and we with all our fleet about a league without them. Thurs- *Three saile of English.*

day in the morning, they weighed anchor and came up with us, which were found to bee the Palsgrave, the Elizabeth, and the Hope; by these wee heard the dolefull newes of the taking of the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition and Rose, by sixe Holland ships, as they were at anchor within the Iles of Tecoo; also of the losse of the Starre in the Streights of Sunda, taken by the Dutch. Moreover, how they had sent foure great ships, double manned, in quest of the Samson and Hound, of the safetie of which ships wee are very doubtfull; so that the English ships which they have taken, doe almost equall the number of our three Fleets now joined in one.

The Dragon, Beare, Expedition and Rose, taken by the Dutch.

The Starre, Samson and Hound taken.

Munday, the one and thirtieth of Januarie, we held a consultation aboord the James Royall, concerning our future proceeding, where it was with one consent agreed and concluded to goe to Achin, in hope to meet with our ships from Surat, that we might keepe our Forces together, according to the honorable Companies directions: The reasons moving us hereunto, were the want of Rice and other provisions, which could not at this time bee procured at Bantam. Secondly, the consideration of the Hollanders forces, holding it no wisedome for us to adventure the whole estate, that the honorable Companie hath now in India, upon such desperate termes; they having at this time foure ships for one of ours. And lastly (Causa sine qua non) the necessitie of careening of three of our ships, which may no longer be differred without imminent danger of all three, viz. the James Royall, the Gift, and the Unicorne. And therefore we have resolved, by the grace of God, to goe for Japan, where we are given to understand, that there are all things necessarie for the careening of ships, and store of provisions for the reliefe of our men.

[I. v. 640.] *Consultation.*

The eleventh, at night, Master Mills arrived in the Bee with three hundred sacks of very good Rice, and eleven Hogsheads of Oile, giving us great encouragement to send thither againe. Saturday, the twelfth, at

night, the Claw was dispeeded againe for Pedang and Cuttatinga, to procure Rice, &c.

Tuesday, in the night, we returned the Bee to Priaman to provide more Rice and Oile. Saturday, in the afternoone, the Claw returned with foure and thirtie bags of Rice, sixteene thousand Coquer-nuts, ten Goats. This night, the Bee arrived from Priaman with nine hundred and eightie sacks of Rice, procured by the great labour and industrie of Master Mills, Merchant of the Elizabeth. *Provision.* *Master Mills his care.*

Friday, the third of March, in the morning, we departed from the Road of Tecoo; intending by the grace of God, first to touch at Nimtam, for the dispatch of the Bee for England; and from thence, God willing, to goe for Achin, in hope to meete the Charles and the Ruby from Surat. This day afternoone, wee anchored in five and twentie fathom Ozie, the middle Ile of Tecoo bearing East South-east, about two leagues off. Saturday, in the morning, wee set saile againe and stood off West and West by South: This afternoone, we anchored againe in three and fortie fathom ground, the Iles of Tecoo being East from us about eight leagues off, and the White Rocke West by North halfe North foure leagues off. This White Rocke lyeth West one third part North from the Iles of Tecoo, distant eleven leagues. Sunday, in the morning, the wind at North, wee weighed anchor and steered away South-west, for that the Current (did then) set to the Northwards: we had not gone above one league this Course, but the wind veered up at South-west by West, so that we could lye but South by East, and before we had run three miles South South-east, our men from the sprit saile top descried Rocks under the ship, at sight whereof wee brought our ship astayes, and shot off a peece of Ordnance for a warning to the Fleet. Before our ship was come about, we had but three fathom and a halfe; yet, I thanke God, we never toucht. Our ships being tacket, we stood to the Northwards, thinking the safest *Nimtam.* *Upon the highest of this Should our Boat found but three foot water. From this Should the White Rocke did beare West North-west foure leagues: and the Hay Reeke, which is the flattest of the three hammocks to the Northwards of Teco, did beare East North-east halfe East, nine leagues off.*

course to returne the same way we came: but we had not made above two miles North and by West, before we saw other Rocks againe under our ships head, upon which we had but seven fathom. The depth that we found all this day, when wee were free from these dangers, was fortie and two and fortie fathom: and therefore, seeing it had pleased our gracious God to free us from both these dangers, we edged in againe a mile or little more within them, and there anchored againe untill the next morning.

Escape of danger from Rocks.

The thirtieth of March, 1620. we all anchored in the Bay of Samanca, about a mile off the shoare, where we tooke in water and wood, and other necessaries. The last of March, our shallop was sent unto the Bee at Ballambeen to call her away. The first of Aprill, wee sent the Unicornes shallop for Anniar, to enquire of the Dutch forces, and how the Pangram stood affected towards us. At eleven, at night, two and twentie of our men run away with the Barge: In the morning, the shallop returned from Anniar, and brought newes of fifteene sailes of Hollanders at Bantam and Jacatra, whereupon we resolved to goe for Bantam, to treat with the Pangram, hoping that the Hollanders would not venture upon us. This afternoone also, the Bee arrived with our shallop from Ballambeen. The sixt, we set saile for Bantam: The seventh, wee came in betweene Crackataw and Becee, where we met with a Praw, with some of our people, come from Anniar.

Samanca.

Ballambeen.

Anniar.

Cracatow and Becee.

§. IIII.

Newes of the peace betwixt English and Dutch: the mutuall congratulation: Voyage to Japan, returne thence and home.

SAturday the eight in the morning, at foure of the clocke, we met with the Bull come from England, with the joyfull tydings of peace betweene the Dutch and us; which God in his mercie

long continue, shee had a small ship in her Company called the Flying Hart, which was sent out with her, having Letters from their Generall; to advise us or any of their ships of the agreement and uniting of both the Honourable Companies. [I. v. 641.]

This afternoone we anchored all together neere the point of Pallambam. On the eleventh of Aprill, in the morning wee descryed the Dutch Fleete, who came from Jacatra to meete us, and to congratulate our arrivall: Generall Coen beeing there himselfe in person. So soone as the Hollanders Generall was come to anchor, we began to salute each other with our great Ordnances, to signifie unto the Countrey people our great joy, that we conceive in this happy tydings. *Generall Coen.*

The twelfth, we came into Bantam Road with both our Fleets; ours consisting of twelve sailes, theirs of fifteeene; besides, two of their ships, which wee found in that Road. This day Master Johnson, Commander of the Dutch Fleet, came to visit mee with the Fiscall and divers others: Master Brockendon, Master Spalding and my selfe were invited aboord the Admirall shippe, where wee conferred with the Generall concerning our future businesse; and after we had compared the Articles and Letters, he was content that wee should proceed joyntly according to the Honourable Companies instructions; but would not publish the same, untill the arrivall of some ship from the Low Countries. Friday the fourteenth, in the morning, by a generall consent, we sent M. Beamont, and Philip Baduge, with one Dutch Merchant ashoare, to the Pangram, to make him partaker of our good newes; and that we being now united, desired onely a good composition and reasonable agreement that wee might remayne in his Countrey in peace, and enjoy free Trade as we had in other parts of India. But the Pangram was so impatient at the newes, that he would affoord no answere: but oftentimes demanded of them, why we would be friends with the Dutch, and so they were faine to returne *Pangrams hate to the Dutch.*

without any answere. Saturday, the fifteenth, we sent the same message againe unto him, but then they were not suffered to come on land.

Voyage to Japan.

Wednesday, at foure in the morning, I departed from Bantam Road in the James Royall, having the Unicorne in Company intending by the grace of God, to goe for Japon, there to careene and trimme our ships: Master Brockendon the same time departing with six ships for Jacatra, having resolved about one moneth after our departure, to send five good English ships, and five good ships of the Dutch after us to Japon,* that from thence wee might take the fittest time of the yeere to goe for the Manillas.

**The Voyage I have set in a Paragraph or Section by itselfe: that the studious of Marine knowledge might make use of that, which would perhaps to others seem to interrupt his more easie and delicate Muses, with a Sea-sicknesse.*

We arrived into a Port of Ferando, called Cochee, which is about foure English myles and an halfe to South-wards of the Haven Ferando. Tuesday, the five and twentieth of July, Captaine Cox sent good store of Funnies or toe Boates aboord of our ship to helpe us. This day in the afternoone (God bee praysed) we arrived in the Port of Firando. This day, before wee got into Firando, the Elizabeth brought in a Frigat with her, wherein there were found certaine Silkes, Hides, and some Sugar; the Mariners were Japoneses with certaine Portugals, whereof some were Fryers: the Elizabeth came into Cochee also, Captaine Adams, Admirall of the United Fleet, arrived in the same place about three houres after me in the Moone; likewise William Johnson in the Trow.

Here we found the Swan, and Expedition sent hither, as I suppose, to the disgrace of our Nation in those remote parts of the World.

They arrive at Firando.

Sashma.

Nangasaque.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, a generall Councell of English and Dutch were assembled in the English house at Firando; where it was resolved that the shippes which lay neere the Coasts of Sashma, should be called in, because wee were certainly informed, that the Frigats of Macao were newly arrived in Nangasaque. Sunday, the thirtieth, the King of Crats came aboord the James Royall, and seemed much to rejoyce to see such an English ship, demanding of the Jurabassa, if this were one of the English

Frigats; whereby we supposed that the Dutch had given out, that we had none but small ships like unto Frigats.

Tuesday, the first of August, a generall Councell was holden at the English house, concerning the choice of two men, the one English, the other Dutch, to carrie the Present to the Emperour, where (after it was considered, that I could not so long bee spared from the Royall James, nor Captaine Adams from his Fleet) at length we made choice of Master Charles Cleavengar Commander of the Palsgrave, and Joseph Cockram Cape Merchant of the Fleet, to goe in the behalfe of the English, and Jasques le Febre of the Harlam, with Matthia de Brooke, for the Dutch. On the sixth, the Palsgrave arrived in the Road of Cochee. The seventh, the Bull came into the Road of Cochee, having cut off all her Masts by the board (as they say) to save ship and goods; Captaine Adams and I did visit the King of Firando, carrying with us a small Present which was very well esteemed, and wee of our selves very courteously entertayned. Wednesday, the ninth, the King invited the English and the Dutch to Dinner, where to shew his respect unto our Nation, he caused us to sit downe on the right hand, and the Dutch on the left; and the first Dish of every course, was presented unto us. *Charles Cleavengar.*

Munday, the fourth of September, we had a great Tuffone with the wind Northerly, which forced the Moone on shore, and over-set the Expedition, so that she sunke downe suddenly. The Trow had likewise been over-set, had not the Master of her soone prevented it, by veering of her sterne ashoare. Tuesday, the fifth, I caused many of our men to come aboord the Moone, to helpe hale her off, where we all strived a long time to no purpose. The thirteenth, the Moone was got off againe, to the great joy of us all, having received no hurt at all by her lying so long on shoare. The nineteenth, the James Royall having all *A Tuffoone or Tempest.*

[I. v. 642.]

things taken out, but onely certaine bars of Lead, to helpe trimme her over was heaved downe almost halfe way to the keele. Thursday, the one and twentieth in the morning, the James Royall was brought downe so low, that wee saw part of her keele, and so began presently to sheath her. In foure dayes the Carpenters sheathed one side of the James, from the keele up to the lower bend. Wednesday, the seven and twentieth, I sent a Cooper, two quarter Masters, and a Butcher to Nangasaque, to kill and salt such meate as was provided for us.

The James careened.

Thursday, the twelfth of October, we had the James downe to keele againe on the other-side, on this side we found foure dangerous places, where the maine planke was eaten thorow by the Wormes; in each of those places wee graved in a piece of planke, and in one of them we drove a trunnell, where there was never any before: also wee nailed a piece of Lead upon the end of the bolt, which was formerly driven through the keele to stop our great leake; our ship was righted againe both sides, being finished up to the lower Bends. Saturday, the one and twentieth, the Moone was finished on both sides. Tuesday, the foure and twentieth, we had newes that Nangasaque was burnt, that a fire beginning in the Portugall street, consumed foure or five of the richest streets in the Citie.

Nangasaque burnt.

The seventh of Dec. being Thursday, we departed from Firando, and the same evening wee anchored in the Bay of Cochee. Saturday, the sixteenth, Captain Cleavengar, and Captaine Le Febre arrived in Firando, from the Emperors Court, with the joyfull tidings of good successe in their businesse. Sunday, the seventeenth in the morning, I tooke my leave of them, and about noone, the wind being faire, and the weather cleere, we left the Road of Cochee.

Their departure from Firando.

Thursday, the sixteenth of January in the morning, seeing foure ships in Bantam Road, we weighed and stood in, a little within Pan-Jang, at length there

Comming to Bantam.

came the Pepper-cornes boate aboord our ship with the Master, one Morton, he told me that there were two Dutch shippes in the Road, and one French ship, to whom the Pangram had granted Trade, and that the English and Dutch had consorted with him to share the Pepper in thirds amongst them. I also understood by him, that the most part of our lading was readie for us at Jacatra.

Wednesday, in the morning, I set saile for Jacatra, and the same evening anchored neere unto Antilaky. Thursday, the eighteenth, at night, we arrived in the Bay of Jacatra, where we found the Charles, the Gift, and the Clove, and two Dutch ships, viz. the Leyden, and the Sun, and at Hector Iland, the Globe, and the Bee. Here I met with the Master of the Unicorne, and divers of his Company, who came hither in a Juncke: their ship being lost upon the Coast of China. The James having discharged her lading, was readie to relade for England. Heere was at this time in the Charles, the Clove, and the Gift, about six hundred tuns of Pepper, & the Beare daily expected from Jambee with two hundred tunnes more, which gave us good hope that wee should very neere make up our ships lading with Pepper, Benjamin, Cloves, and Silke.

Arrive at Jacatra.

Unicorne lost on the Coast of China.

Munday, the sixe and twentieth of February, in the morning, I departed from the Road of Jacatra in the James Royall, having taken in our whole lading of Pepper, saving fiftie five Peculs; also, certaine Sapetas of Silke and some Cloves. This businesse ended about ten of the clock this fore-noone, we set sayle for England. I pray God in his wonted mercie to conduct us unto our Native Countrie in safetie, in his good time appointed.

Returne for England.

Sunday, the twentieth of May, 1621 in the after-noone, wee arrived in the Road of Soldania, where we found the Anne Royall, and the Fortune, ships belonging to the Honourable Company of London, and

Soldania.

three Dutch ships, viz. the Gawda, the blacke Beare and the Herring, all bound for Bantam and Jacatra. The one and twentieth, we romaged our ship. Tuesday the two & twentieth, we sent some Water-caskes on shoare, and set up a Tent for our sicke men and Coopers, and sent five and twentie men on land to guard them. This night, I ordayned sixtie men to goe in company with sixtie Dutch in quest of Cattle, who returned the same night in vaine.

The second of June, in the morning, we left the Road of Soldania, with the wind at South South-east, South-east from the twentieth at noone, untill the one and twentieth at six in the morning, West fifteen leagues at this instant (God be praysed) we descryed *Saint Helena.* the Iland of S. Helena; the bodie of it (to our judgement) bearing West, two third parts North, about fifteene leagues off. This evening, we got within five leagues of the Iland, and there plyed it off, and on untill five the next morning, and then we did beare in about the North point of the Iland, and the same forenoone, about ten of the clocke we anchored thwart *Chappell Bay.* of the Chappell Bay, halfe a mile from the shoare in sixe and twentie fathomes. The North point of the Iland bearing North-east two third parts East, one league off, and the other point South-west by South one league and an halfe off: betweene which two points there are seven Vallies, and the Southermost of the seven, leadeth upright to the Limon Trees. Munday, the five and twentieth, wee weighed anchor againe, and road off the Valley, about halfe a mile from the shoare, in twentie seven fathomes, blacke sand and small Corall, the Northermost picked point bearing North-east halfe East from us two leagues off, and the Southermost point in sight South-west halfe South, two miles off, this is the best Valley for refreshing that I know in all the Iland.

At this Iland we remayned seven dayes, during [I. v. 645.] which time we filled our water, and got at least fiftie

Hogges and Goats, and above foure thousand Limons. Friday, the nine and twentieth of June, in the morning, at nine of the clocke, having very well refreshed our selves, (through the good providence of Almightie God) we departed from hence, and the same Evening at sixe, we had the bodie of the Iland South-east by South eight leagues off, the wind at South-east, the weather over-cast.

The greatest variation on the Westerne side of S. Helena, which wee found was fifty deg. fifty sixe min. Easterly.

The sixteenth of August, at noone we saw the high-land of Pico East North-east about fifteene leaagues off. The seventeenth, at noone we had the top of Pico North sixe leagues off, being in the latitude of thirtie eight degrees, twelve minutes. Whereby I perceive that the South-side of Pico lyeth in thirtie eight degrees thirtie minutes neerest.

The fifteenth of September, wee had the Lands end of England eight leagues off. Tuesday, the eighteenth, we arrived in the Downes.

§. V.

The Voyage from Bantam to Patania, and thence to Japan, with his returne to Jacatra; set by it selfe for the use of Mariners.

THe seven and twentieth of Aprill, being Thursday, we tooke leave of this Fleet, and steered away ot the North-wards, borrowing within halfe a league of the Easter point of Poolo Tunda, and in the evening, came to an anchor about a league off the North-east point of it in twentie three fathomes water ozie; where we roade untill the Westerne streame beganne to returne to the East-ward againe, which was about tenne at night.

Poolo Tunda.

The eight and twentieth at night, we anchored in twentie eight fathoms ozie, Poolo Antekero bearing North-east three leagues off. Poolo Antekero lyeth from Poolo Tunda, North North-east halfe East about eight leagues off. The depth betweene them from sixteene fathomes to six and twentie, and so to twentie two,

Poolo Antekero.

twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, and twelve fathomes ozie. Poolo Antekero is the Wester-most of all the row of Ilands, which extend themselves from the mouth of *Jacatra Bay.* the Bay of Jacatra, to the West-ward.

Saturday, the nine and twentieth, to the evening, we *Poolo Kero.* were in fifteene fathome. Poolo Kero bearing North by East halfe East of us, two leagues and an halfe off. Poolo Kero lyeth from Poolo Antekero North North-east neerest, distant sixe leagues from the time that wee had Antekero, North-east three leagues off, we had twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, twelve fathomes ozie.

Sunday at noon, we had the Poolo Kero, South halfe East six leagues off. Our depth continuing thirteene, twelve, and eleven fathomes the same ground.

The first of May, at noone, we had Poolo Kero South halfe west, nine leagues off, beeing as much as we could see it at our top-mast-head, the depth twelve fathomes. *Latitude.* Here by observation of the Sunne we were in South latitude foure degrees forty five minutes from noone, untill five, North North-east foure leagues. Here we anchored againe in twelve fathomes ozie, having Poolo Kero, by estimation South by West from us, thirteene leagues off. This night at nine, as we were at anchor in the same place, by observation of the Crosiers, I made the ship to bee in foure degrees, fortie minutes South latitude, allowing twentie nine, for the complement of the declination. Tuesday, the second in the morning, betweene foure and five of the clocke wee set sayle againe, and the same day at noone we had runne about six leagues North North-east. The depth continuing as before, thirteene, twelve, eleven fathomes. From the second to the third, at noone we made an East by South way, five leagues, finding such depths as the day before. The ground from Bantam Road hitherto all ozie. From Bantam for the space of two dayes wee had Sea-turnes and Land-turnes. From thence, untill the second of May in the afternoone, the winds betweene the East and

the South-east, and then the wind came up Northerly, and so continued untill the third at noone. From Poolo Peniang unto Poolo Antekero the Current did set us to the West-ward, for the most part some-what strong, but from thence untill wee drew neere unto the Streights of wee found but an easie Current, which did runne almost upon all points of the Compasse, every twentie foure houres. From the third at noone, untill the fourth at noone North North-east eleven leagues, the depth from twelve to ten, halfe a fathome ozie. From noone, this day till seven at night, North five leagues and a halfe, where we anchored in ten fathomes and an halfe lesse.

Poolo Peniang.

Current.

Friday, the fift in the morning, we weighed againe, having little wind and variable, untill halfe an houre after sixe, and then the wind came up at South-west and blew fresh. From foure to nine we made North-east halfe Easterly three leagues: and from nine until noon North-west by North halfe a league, the depth ten fathom neerest. This day at noone, wee were in three degrees and thirtie minutes South latitude, where wee descried a little Iland North North-east halfe East foure leagues off, which appeared at first sight like a great Tree rising out of the Sea, from noone to sixe North-west five leagues: here wee saw two or three Hummocks like Ilands North by West from seven leagues off. From hence until three after mid-night, West six leagues: at sixe we had nineteene fathom, which as wee stood to the Westward in the night increased to ten, eleven, and twelve fathom; and afterward it decreased unto eight fathom, where wee came to an anchor, the streame by night set South-east, by day North-west.

A little Iland.

[I. v. 646.]

Saturday in the morning, we weighed at sixe againe, and steered away West North-west one league and a third part: here we had sight of many Hummocks rising like Ilands, which at length we perceived to be all one Land, as we drew neere to it: after wee had gone one league and a third part West North-west, as aforesaid, wee came

into seven fathom a halfe lesse, and therefore tackt about to the North-eastwards, making a North North-east way untill noone, about two leagues and a halfe; at which time by observation of the Sunne, wee were in three degrees and twentie minutes neerest South latitude, being gotten into eight fathom water againe; where we found the Current to set away North-west by West: here also about noone this day, a Junck of Jore came up with us, which had beene at Cheribon upon Java, and was now returning to Jore. This afternoone wee steered in with the Easterne part of this Hummockie Land, and making our way as the Easterne Point did beare from us, which was North North-east halfe North, in this our course we came againe to seven fathom, and so increasing to foure and twentie fathom, and from thence decreasing to seven fathom a quarter lesse, where we anchored againe the said Point of Land, bearing North North-east, one third part North foure leagues off.

Cheribon.

Sunday, the seventh in the morning, we weighed and stood in neerer unto the Point, in hope to have passed through betweene this Point and an Iland, which lyeth three leagues to the Eastward of it, but as we stood in, we found the depth of the water first to increase from seven fathom unto seventeene fathom; and from thence againe unto sixe and foure fathom a quarter lesse. And about two miles of the Point in the faire way, we had but sixe foote water, which our shallop found as shee was sounding of the Chanell. To the Eastwards of this place there appeared many small Ilands, and by the report of the people in the Juncke, the Sea is full of Ilands betweene the South-east end of Banco, and the Ile of Burneo. Now this was the South-east end of Banco, which did beare North North-east, halfe North about two leagues off; and the Land from this Point unto the entrance of the Streights of Banco, did lye West by South neerest about thirteene leagues: there as wee were at anchor, the foresaid Point bearing North by East halfe East two leagues and a halfe, we found (by observation

Many Ilands. Sea full of Ilands twixt Banco & Burneo.

of the Sunne) the ship to bee in three degrees and eight minutes South latitude.

Munday in the morning, (having little hope to find a passage betweene the South-east end of Banco and the foresaid Ilands, by reason of the fearefull shoaldings which wee had alreadie found) we resolved by the helpe of God to goe through the Streights of Banco, and there with- *Streights of Banco.* all presently came to saile, steering off as neere as we could judge, the same course that we came in: in which course we found more dangerous shoalding in our standing off, then wee had done in our comming in before. After we had gotten about eight leagues off South South-west from the South-east point of Banco, we steered away South-west by West, the Current setting North west, *Current.* which made a West by South way neerest; this course wee run five leagues, and anchored in eight fathom Ozie, about nine at night.

The ninth in the morning, we descried Lucepara *Lucepara.* North North-west seven leagues off, and steered in neere with it untill we had it North two leagues. In this course we came over a spit where wee had but foure fathom and a halfe and five fathom a quarter lesse, but drawing neerer unto Lucepara, we had five fathom and a quarter, and when it was North two leagues off al Ozie ground. And so all the way before, now, and after that we had brought it North two leagues off, as I have said, we steered North-west by North, untill Lucepara was North-east of us, and had five fathom the same ground: and then we went West North-west, having alwayes Ozie ground till we were within two leagues of Sumatra shoare in sixe fathom. Here we had our Ile of Lucepara East South-east three leagues and a halfe off. And a Hill upon Banco with a deepe swampe North by West neerest, being a sailes breadth open of the Point of Sumatra, which was then North by West halfe West from us, about three leagues off: wee steered from hence away with the foresaid Point North by West, and had sixe and a halfe and seven fathom, soft ground, untill

we came within a league of the Point, where edging too neere the same, we had but five fathom and a halfe, and foure and a halfe in the Boat hard by us: but had we kept a little further off that Point, wee might have gone away in seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom, and so all the Streights alongst, borrowing carefully with our Lead upon the Sumatra shoare; but hee that keepeth any thing neerer unto Banco then unto Sumatra, shall have very uncertaine shoalding, sometimes deepe and otherwhiles shoald, and commonly foule ground, whereas on Sumatra side if you should come into shoald water, yet the ground for the most part is soft, ozie, and the sounding farre more certaine; all which will more plainly appeare by my description of this place.

Friday, the twelfth in the evening, having brought the [I. v. 647.] North-west Point of Banco North-east, we opened two smooth Hills with a little Hummock betweene them, the Northermost of them being the Northermost Land of Banco, and bearing from the North-west Point aforesaid, North-east nine leagues off. This night we steered North North-east, to goe through the Chanell betweene *Linga.* Linga and the North end of Banco, finding twentie three, twentie two, twentie, eighteene, and sixteene fathoms ozie, untill we came neere the entrance, and afterwards fifteen, fourteene, thirteene fathoms, going through the passage. Linga riseth at first in three Ilands, the Northermost being bigger then both the other, rising full of Hummocks, being neere two leagues in length. The Iles of Linga have certaine fragments of Iles intermixt amongst them, shewing like Hay-cocks, which is a good marke to know them. From the smooth Hill, which is the South end of Banco, untill the South Westermost Ile of Linga, North by West ten leagues, East North-east halfe North. From the middle of the greatest Ile of Linga (which is the North Eastermost of them) lyeth another smooth Iland nine leagues off, and about two leagues to the East North-east halfe North. From that there is another flat Iland, and off the North Point of

the round smooth Iland, lyeth also a little fragment like a Rocke. In the way betweene this smooth Iland and Linga you have fourteene and thirteene fathom water, also being in the mid-way betweene them, your course is North, to passe alongst by the Easter-side of Bintam. This day at noone wee were in one degree South latitude, the greatest Ile of Linga South-west five leagues, whereby we gathered that the great Ile of Linga stood in one degree and ten minutes neerest. This afternoone we saw a little Iland to the Westward of us, about eight leagues off, which lyeth North North-west neerest from Linga. *A little Iland.*

Sunday, the fourteenth at noone, having made a North way foure and twentie leagues, by helpe of the Wind and Current, which did set North, we had sight of the high land of Bintam, rising with two Hills and a deepe swamp betwixt, being to our judgement twelve leagues from us. At this time also we had sight of three or foure Hummocks, rising like Ilands, South-west by West eight leagues: here we sounded and had ground in twentie fathom. From Linga unto this place we had fourteene, fifteene, sixteene, seventeene, eighteene, and twentie fathom, as wee supposed, streamy ground; for wee had not meanes at all times to trie it. From mid-day the fourteenth unto the fifteenth at noone, North a third part West, seven and twentie leagues. This foure and twentie houres, twentie one, twentie two, twentie three, and twentie foure fathom. This day from twelve to three, three leagues and a halfe. Here wee saw Poolo Loar, bearing North-west halfe North from us, by our judgement about twelve leagues off, at this instant we had seven and twentie fathom, the ground like unto Fullers earth; this night Poolo Loar being North-west by West eight leagues off, we had nine and thirtie fathom ozie. From the fifteenth at noone, unto eight the next morning, we made a North North-west halfe West way fifteene leagues. The sixteenth at eight, Poolo Loar did beare South-west by South off us sixe leagues, distant the *Bintam.* *Poolo Loar.*

Hermano di Layo. Poolo Tymon.

very body of the Iland Hermano de Layo, West South-west halfe West seven leagues off: and Poolo Tymon the South end West halfe North ten leagues; and the North-east end West North-west halfe west ten leagues off. This evening wee anchored within foure miles off the North Point of Tymon in foure and twentie fathom, streamy ground, the Point it selfe bearing West by South halfe South. The evening, I sent our shallop about the Point, where they descried a Towne and a Junke, riding close by the shoare, and divers Praws a fishing, whereof one came to them to enquire what Nation they were, and told them, that at the Towne there was good fresh water, and Buffels, Goats, and Hennes.

Wednesday in the morning, about foure of the clocke, wee sent the Unicornes long Boat with ours to the said Towne, who returned in the afternoone with foure Butts of water a piece, not willing to fill more because it was brackish. At the watering place they found a Junck of Jor, which was set out for a man of Warre, and having twentie small shot besides Lances and Javelins; he reported to our people that he had taken a China Juncke, and sold her on the Coast of Jor. And sent me word, that he would take my part against the Portugall, as long as his life did last. In the next Bay to the Southwards of the North Point of Poolo Temon, wee found very good fresh water, but we could not conveniently take it in with our long Boat, for shee drew five foot water being loden. Thus having spent our day in this place to little purpose: I set saile the first of the night, directing our course for Patania, steering away due North with little wind all night.

A Juncke of Jor.

Patania.

Thursday at noone, we were in three degrees and fortie minutes South latitude, having made a North halfe West way, by meanes of the Current, which did set a way North by West about a mile an houre. This afternoone at foure, having made a North halfe West way about eight leagues, we descried the Ile of Tingoran North North-west fifteene leagues off: This night wee passed

along by Poolo Tingoran, about sixe leagues to the Easterward of it having twentie eight, thirtie and thirtie two fathoms soft ground. *Poolo Tingoran.*

Friday, at sixe in the morning, we had Poolo Tingoran, West South-west seven leagues off: here we had sixe and thirtie fathom the same ground. This day at noone wee were in five degrees and thirtie minutes. Tingoran bearing South one third part East fourteene leagues off, whereby we conceived that the Ile of Tingoran standeth in foure degrees and fiftie minutes. This day at noone we had likewise the South-Ile of Poolo Rowdon, [I. v. 648.] North-west by West seven leagues off: and in the same night at eight of the clocke, I observed the Crosiers, and made the ship to be in five degrees fortie eight minutes, the Eastermost (which is the greatest of the Iles of Poolo Rowdon), bearing West foure leagues off. *Poolo Rowdon.* From eight at night untill noone the next day, our way was neerest North-west by West nine leagues; in this course the depth we had from twentie eight to seventeene fathoms: then the Northermost Iland of Poolo Rowdon was South, one third part East, foure leagues off; being a round Hummocke much like to Pomo in the Gulph of Venice, but somewhat higher, and more compleat: these Iles of Rowdon are good high land, and a faire depth from the one end to the other, on all the Easter side, and as I am informed a faire Channell betweene them and the Maine, there are in all, thirteene or fourteene Ilands great and small. Saturday from noone, untill Sunday, eight in the morning, our way was West North-west nine leagues: here wee saw two hills by the water side, bearing West of us five leagues off, rising like two Tortugas. From Poolo Tingoran unto Potania, is very high land alongst up in the Countrey; and low land by the waters side, with a sandie Strand at least twentie leagues to the Southward of the Point of Potania, and how much farther I know not: but so farre I have seene. This Saturday in the afternoone, as we stood in West North-west to the two hills aforesaid, wee came from seventeene unto

fourteene and thirteene fathomes, hard ground; and as wee drew neerer the hills, the depth encreased againe to ninteene fathomes ozie, and thence to eighteene and seventeene fathoms, the same ground.

Sunday the one and twentieth, from eight in the morning unto seven at night, our course was North-west three quarters West thirteene leagues, keeping for the most part, within foure leagues of the low sandie shoare, the depth all the way fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms: here at seven wee anchored in thirteene fathoms and a quarter streamie ground, the Northermost point in sight (falling downe from a reasonable high land at the end of all the low land) did beare West North-west halfe North, neere three leagues and an halfe off. Sixe leagues South-east by South from this Point lyeth a Rocke, as high above the water as the Hull of a small ship: we passed along about a league and an halfe to the Eastward of it, finding no alteration of our former depth: this point aforesaid I call, the Gurnets Head. From this Point, the land trendeth away West North-west, and West by North, unto the entrance of Potania Road, being all low land from the Gurnets Head unto the very Point of the Road, and lowest of all at the same Point. From Gurnets Head unto the said low Point, the distance is sixe leagues; and all the way of faire depth, untill you draw neere the low Point of the Road: but there you must give a good birth, because there lieth a shoald from it halfe way over unto the Wester shoare: therefore you must not borrow too neere it, before you have the shoalding of the Wester shoare: and there you shall find the softest ground. From the low Point, as you range over the Bay unto the Wester shoare, you shall not have above five fathomes, and foure fathoms and an halfe, when you are in the Road; where you shall have the low Point East North-east one third part East, and the highest mountaine on the Wester side of the Bay will then beare South South-west one third part West.

A Rocke.

Gurnets Head.

Thursday, we anchored in the Road of Potania, where we found the Samson, and a Dutch Pinnasse. The day before we came into the Road, I went ashoare to the English Factorie. Where I found Master Adam Denton, and Master Richard Welding, lately come from Jambe in a Praw with divers English of the Samsons companie, who were all glad men to see such English ships in that Port. At my comming to the English house, I acquainted Master Denton with the cause of my comming, which was, for Racke and fresh Victuals, whereof wee stood in great need; whereupon he presently gave order, to lay out for all things necessarie; that within six dayes we were furnished with sixteene Buts of Rack and Rack-apee, whereof three Buts of Rack-apee, we had from the Dutch; which curtesie they did us, to hasten our dispatch: Beeves, Goats, and Hennes, we had here in plentifull manner. Here also we bought Dammar and Oyle for the trimming of our ships, because I understood it was very deere in Japan. Heere also I found a small Frigat, bought by the English, which being of no great use in this place, by general consent it was thought fitting, that shee with most of the English Sailors should goe along to attend upon the James Royall.

Anchor at Potania, or Patania.

Jambe.

Racke, and Rack-apee.

The last of May, we departed from Potania.

The first of June, at seven in the morning, wee descried a small Rocke, which appeared but little above water, lying very dangerous for ships that goe from Potania for the Head of Camboia: when this Rocke did beare North North-east halfe East, a league off, then the high-land over Gurnets Head was South South-west halfe West, thirteene leagues off, and by computation, the low point of Potania Road was eighteene leagues off, West South-west halfe South from us. After we were out of the Road of Potania, in seven fathoms, the depth increased orderly to eight, ten, twelve, fourteene, sixteene, eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathoms, untill we had sight of the Rocke; and about two leagues from the Rocke, five and twentie fathoms ozie: and such was all

A Rocke dangerous.

Camboia.

the ground from Potania to this place. This day at noone, this Rocke being West from us about foure leagues off, we found the ship to bee in seven degrees twentie minutes.

[I. v. 649.] From hence untill the third at noone, East halfe North fortie five leagues, here we saw Poolo Hube East North-east halfe North, eight leagues off, having fourteene fathoms ozie: all this eight and fortie houres we had ozie ground, the depth from twentie seven to thirtie sixe fathoms, and from thence decreasing againe to fourteene fathoms, which was the depth wee had when we saw this Iland. This Poolo Hube riseth first with one round hill, then as you come neerer, you shall see a shoulder of somewhat high land rising in hummockes: but not above two third parts as high as the round hill, being all one land with it, and then shall you see another lesser round Iland rise, which is neere about the highth of the hummockie land, and lieth close aboord the greater Iland. At the East end of this lesser round Iland, there are two little Ilands very neere it, and a mile to the Eastward of them lieth a long Rocke like the Hull of a Galley. This night wee anchored in thirteene fathomes and an halfe ozie, about three leagues off the greatest Iland, which was also the highest. The next morning wee weighed againe, and stood away East by South, and East by East, having but little wind. This evening at sixe, wee had the bodie of Hube West by North, foure leagues off. From hence wee steered away East by South, and East, untill sixe the next morning, but the Current checked us to the Northward, by which meanes we made our way to the Northward of the East.

Poolo Hube.

Two little Ilands, and a Rocke.

Current.

The fift, from sixe at night untill sixe in the morning, we ranne fifteene leagues, the course afore-said, and here we had sight of a very little round Iland, bearing foure leagues off; and to the Southward of it about a mile distant, a long flat Rocke a little highth above water. From Poolo Hube untill we came three leagues off this little round Iland, we had thirteene, fourteene, fifteene

fathoms, and fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene againe, all ozie ground. When we were within two leagues of this small Iland, we had thirteene fathoms sandie ground. Here we descried Poolo Candor, the Norther end of it bearing East by North, from this Iland about seven leagues off. This day at noone wee found the ship to bee in eight degrees fortie two minutes North latitude, the highest land on Poolo Candor being East from us sixe leagues off: from Potania untill wee were in sight of Poolo Candor, the winds for the most part were at South South-west. This day at noone wee steered away North-east, North-east by North, and in the night North North-east; so that wee made North-east by North in all untill the next day at noone, about foure and twentie leagues: In this course wee found thirteene and fourteene fathoms ozie. *Poolo Candor.*

Tuesday, the sixt at noone, we had sight of two Hummockes upon the Coast of Camboia, bearing North by East, and to the Westward of that low Land. From Poolo Candor untill wee came in sight of this Coast, we found the Current setting East by North: here also when wee saw those Hummockes bearing North by East nine leagues off, wee had twelve fathoms streamie ground. Wednesday the seventh at noone, wee found the ship to bee in ten degrees fortie two minutes, having runne from the former noone untill this present, North-east a quarter North five and twentie leagues: heereby wee found, that the Current setting East by North, had carried us ten miles to the Northwards of our computation, our depths from twelve to sixteene, twentie, and twentie foure fathoms; and so to twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, againe, sandie ground. From the afore-said two Hummocks, as wee did coast it along within eight leagues off the shoare, and sometimes more, sometimes lesse, wee saw high Land all along up in the Countrie, and in many places by the waters side, a smooth Land about the highth of the Lizard, with many plots of white sand upon it, as well as by the waters side. The first white *Camboia.*

spots that we saw upon the smooth Land, was upon the very Point that is ten leagues to the Westward of the *Cape Cessier.* Cape Cessier, which at first seemed to bee a Towne with faire houses and white walls: this Cape did beare West North-west halfe West from us, about sixe leagues off, this present day at noone, when we were in ten degrees fortie two minutes. Thursday at noone, we were in eleven degrees thirtie minutes, having gone twentie leagues North-east halfe North, from the former noone. The night before, at eight of the clocke, we came to an anchor in twentie two fathome streamie ground, where the Current did set East halfe North, untill twelve; and then finding that it had recourse to the Westward, wee weighed anchor againe, and steered away North-east, and North-east by North, all the night; and so untill the eight at noone afore-said: in which course we had from twentie two to twentie eight, thirtie two, thirtie sixe, fortie, fortie foure fathoms; and a little before noone, fortie seven, and after that wee had no ground. The cause why wee anchored that night was, that wee found very uncertaine shoalding, having had eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathomes: and after noone on the sodaine we came into sixteene, fourteene, twelve, and the Unicorne being faire by us had but nine fathoms and an halfe.

From the eight untill the ninth at noone, wee steered alongst the shoare North North-east sixteene leagues, North by East six leagues, North six leagues, and North by West nine leagues; which made in all a North by East one third part Easterly way, thirtie six leagues: here we had *Cape Varella.* Cape Varrella West South-west eight leagues off, being in the latitude of thirteene degrees thirteene minutes: this Cape is called by the Chineses (Jentam) which in their language doth signifie a Chimney, because it hath a sharpe Hummocke on the top of the hill, much like unto a [I. v. 650.] Chimney on the top of a house. From the ninth untill the tenth at noone, North two third parts West twentie sixe leagues, the latitude fourteene degrees thirtie minutes:

here we were about ten leagues off the land; and the day before, wee came not above sixe leagues off Cape Varrella, by which I gather, that the land trendeth away North by West from Cape Varrella. Sunday at noone, we were in sixteene degrees ten minutes, having runne from the former noone thirtie three leagues and one third part, due North. Munday at noone, twentie sixe leagues North North-east halfe North, latitude seventeene degrees fortie minutes, the Current having set us sixe miles to the Northwards. This evening at sixe, we descried the Ile of Aynam, the high land bearing North-west by North twelve leagues, wee having gone from noone seven leagues North-east. From hence untill noone the next day, North-east by East twentie two leagues: here we were in eighteene degrees and an halfe. This morning, we chased a Portugall Frigat, but shee was of so light burthen that we could not come neere her. *Aynam.*

The fourteenth day at noone, we were in ninteene degrees thirtie five minutes, our way from the former noone North-east twentie sixe leagues; whereby wee found that the Current had carried us foure leagues to the Northwards of our account: and yet this day at noone, with our boats in seventie three fathoms ozie, and found no Current at all. Here we saw many Ripplings like over-falls, as though there had gone some great Tide, but found none as yet. This afternoone at sixe, we anchored againe, with our boat in sixtie eight fathoms ozie sand, and found a small Current to the Southward. The fifteenth at noone wee had runne seventeene leagues North-east by North: here we were in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the Current having carried us seven leagues to the Northward, here we had fortie five fathoms sandie ozie. The sixteenth at noone in twentie one degrees and twentie minutes we had sight of three Ilands; the Eastermost bearing North North-East, the Westermost North-west, the neerest land nine leagues off: here we had twentie two fathomes ozie sand; *Current.* *Ripplings.*

we met with the wind here at East South-east, which blew very fresh: but from Cape Varrella unto this place, wee had the wind alwayes from the South South-east to the South-west. The next morning at eight of the clocke, we had twentie eight fathomes ozie, having runne from the former noone South-west eleven leagues: where perceiving the wind and weather to encrease, wee thought it better to anchor, then to runne backe the way that we came.

Sunday the eighteenth in the morning, the weather somewhat faire, we endeavored to weigh our anchor; but even as our anchor was apeeke, the cable brake in the halfe, being new, and never wet before; by which accident we lost a good anchor. The Unicorne, as wee were almost apeeke, shot off a Peece, whereupon I sent the Shallop speedily aboord her, to know what was amisse; who brought me word, that shee had sprung a great leake, which had almost tired all their men with baling: which as soone as I heard, I sent thirtie men aboord of her, to ease their men by spells, untill it should please God to discover the leake: this day the wind at South-east, which stood to the Eastward, making of a North-east way, untill sixe at night, at which time we saw the former high Iland againe, North North-east one third part East, ten leagues off, having twentie three fathoms. This evening, our men returned from the Unicorne, and brought us newes, that the great leake was firmely stopt, whereat wee all rejoyced. From sixe to twelve at night, we made a North-east way fourteene leagues, where we had twentie fathoms ozie. From twelve to five in the morning, wee stood to the Southwards, making a South-west way three leagues and an halfe; here wee had twentie sixe fathoms againe, ozie ground.

The nineteenth, from five this morning, we cast about to the land, the wind at South-east, wherewith we made a North-east way: and at sixe of the clocke were within eight leagues of the aforesaid high Iland, bearing North

by East from us: and at eight this morning, Master Roberts, Master of the Unicorne, came aboord of us, and told mee that they had another great leake broke out, and that they must needs seeke out some smooth place to ride in, the better to search their leakes, and to fit their fore-mast better in the step: hereupon I resolved to beare up under the great Iland, which was now North by East from us, in hope to find a smooth Road, the more speedily to effect their businesse. There were many more Ilands in sight, both to the Westward, and to the Eastward of us; but this being the neerest to us, and the likeliest, we steered with it, being within three leagues of it, the wind began to duller, and the night was at hand, therefore we plied it to and againe, untill the twentieth in the morning, and then the wind was so farre Northerly, that wee could not cease the place. This day I went aboord againe of the Unicorne, to know what they intended to doe; where I found them all very willing to stand it alongst, because the wind was faire; not doubting but that they should bee able to overcome it. When I heard their resolution, I caused all my Laskayres to remaine aboord the Unicorne, to assist them as occasion should require, and so we stood away all that afternoone untill midnight, with a faire wind, and faire weather; but then it began to blow so much wind, that wee were inforced to lie here a trie with her maine course all night.

Unicornes leakes.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we saw the Unicorne a league and an halfe asterne off us, having a fore-saile and a sprit-saile out; which, as afterward I perceived, was to flat her about for the shoare againe: I presently caused our fore-course to be made readie to flat our ship after her, although wee had little hope to assist her in any thing, because the sea was so farre growne, as our men were a losing of their fore-course, there came such a violent gust that they were faine to furle it againe: if not, our saile would have beene blowne away. After the gust was over, we set our

[I. v. 651.]

fore-saile, and to make her weare the rounder, wee braled up our maine course, part of it being blowne out of the boult-rope before they could furle it, after that the main-saile was up, we put the helme hard aweather, thinking that the ship would have come round, but all in vaine: for shee would not weare above two or three points, and then come to againe. Now the sea was so growne, that we durst not let fall our sprit-saile; and the wind so violent, that we could not loose our fore-top-saile: and this while the Unicorne was out of sight, when we saw that our ship would not weare, we steered away, as neere as wee could lie South by East, untill noone; having made our way South by East thirteene leagues from the Southermost Iland in sight over-night, which I called the Morocco Saddle, by reason of a deepe Swampe on the top thereof. This Saddle-Iland aforesaid lieth in twentie one degrees fortie five minutes North latitude, it hath on the Westerside foure or five very small Ilands close by it, and on the Easterne side three Ilands in sight, lying all three next hand East North-east from it. From Saddle-Ile to the Westward, there are many Ilands; some North-west from it, others West North-west, West by North; and the Southermost of all those Ilands in sight did beare from this West, about fifteene leagues off. This afternoone, our ship waxed very leake, having on the sodaine foure foot and an halfe water in hold, which imployed both our Pumpes going a long time before we could free her. Towards the evening, it pleased God to discover three or foure great leakes betweene wind and water, which when our Carpenters had stopped: wee found great ease and comfort, for then we could let the Pumpe stand still halfe an houre, and free her againe with one Pumpe in little more then a quarter of an houre. From this day noone untill, the two and twentieth at noone, five leagues South South-west, with a paire of Coursers;

They lose sight of the Unicorne.

Morocco Saddle, or Saddle-Iland.

Leakes.

and nine leagues South-west by West a Hull: here we had twentie seven fathoms and an halfe ozie. The two and twentieth in the afternoone, the violence of the wind began to decrease, and consequently, the furie of the waves allayed, which caused our ship to grow the thighter, whereby we plainely perceived, that the most part of our leakes were betwixt wind and water, and therefore the first faire weather I caused our Carpenters to search the ships sides, where they found and stopped many bad places, some of a yard in length, where the Ocum was all rotten in the seame.

The foure and twentieth day, we had sight of a great Iland, bearing North from us, about seaven Leagues off, having a high Hill on the Easterne end of it, which was the same Iland that did beare West from Morocco Saddle, fifteene leagues off or thereabouts. From hence untill the six and twentieth in the evening, our way was South by West twentie foure leagues, the depth increasing from nineteene unto six and thirty fathoms ozie ground: Here we had a little round Iland South-west by West two leagues off, which lyeth in twenty degrees and twenty minutes neerest. This Iland hath foure small Ilands in the South-west side of it, but none of them equall in height with this, wee saw it at least ten leagues off, rising like a Chineses hat. From hence untill the seven and twentieth at noone East by North, two third parts North, twelve leagues: Here we had one and forty fathoms, ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the winde veered up at South South-east and about noone at South.

From twelve the twentie seven, unto twelve the twentie eight, East North-east eighteene leagues, here we had almost one and forty fathoms ozie ground. This morning at two of the clock the wind veered back againe at South South-east. From the eight and twentieth untill noone the nine and twentieth, East North-east eighteen leagues: Here we were in one

and twenty degrees and ten minutes, depth one and forty fathoms ozie. The wind, this twenty foure houres, from South to South-east by South, and very faire weather ever since the storme. From the nine and twentieth untill the thirtieth at noone, East North-east eighteene leagues latitude, one and twenty degrees and thirty minutes depth, six and fifty fathoms ozie, the winde South-east by South, somewhat gustie weather.

From the last of June untill the first of July at noone, East North-east halfe North, two and twenty leagues latitude, two and twenty degrees and ten minutes, the depth five and twenty fathoms black sandy ozie: Here from the top-mast-head we saw land North North-west halfe North, the winde in the night South South-east, by day South-east. This day from noone to seven at night North-east by North, sixe leagues, twentie foure fathoms black and white sand with shels. From thence untill two at noone South-west halfe South, nine leagues and a halfe, foure and twenty fathoms sandy ozie. The first of July, at sixe in the afternoone when we were in foure and twenty fathoms sand and shels, wee saw three China Fisher-boates. The winde came up this evening at East South-east, with which we stood off to the Southwards, and having crackt our maine top-mast but a little before, which was the cause that wee could beare but course and bonnet of each, and therefore made our way of no better then South-west, as I said before. From this second day at noone untill eight at night, our way was South foure [I. v. 652.] leagues, depth seven and twenty fathoms ozie ground. From eight at night untill noone the next day North North-west a quarter West, seven leagues five and twenty fathoms blacke ozie sand, like the former, the winde at East by North and East North-east; here wee saw that the land from the North to the North-east about twelve leagues off, rising in certaine Hummocks, by which I conjecture that this land lyeth

in two and twenty degrees and five and forty minutes neerest. From twelve this day to foure, North North-west three leagues five and twenty fathoms black sand. From foure to twelve the next day South-east by South, ten leagues five and forty fathoms black sandy ozie. From the fourth untill the fifth at noone South-East by South six leagues no ground in eightie fathoms. This foure and twentie houres very little wind, for the most part at East North-east. From the fift to the sixt at noone North by East foure leagues, here we had no ground in eighty fathoms. This foure and twenty houres, it was for the most part calme, that little winde that blew was at East and East North-east, when it was flat calme wee made divers trialls with our Lead, and sometimes wee should have sixty fathoms, otherwhiles fifty sixe fathoms, and then we perceived that the ship was carryed to the South Westward with a sagging Current, and when the calme continued three or foure houres, then no ground in eighty fathoms, as aforesaid. This afternoone, it rained a downe-right showre, and after that, the wind came up at South and South South-west an easie gale with fair weather. From the sixt unto the seventh at noone, North-east halfe North nine leagues; here we had twenty sixe fathoms black ozie ground: the winde continued at South South-west with faire weather. From the seventh at noone untill the eight at night, North-east by North three leagues and a halfe, twenty fathoms gray ozie sand, here by the Scorpions heart I found the ship to be in two and twenty degrees and five and thirty minutes. From eight to twelve, the eight North-east by North fifteene leagues, here the Sunne made us in three and twenty degrees and sixe minutes. At this present we had sight of the high land of Logosse *Logusse.* North-west by North eleven leagues off, having nineteen fathoms, a grosse white sand with smal shels, the wind stil continuing at South-west & West

South-west. This morning, we saw eight or nine Fisher-boats, whereof one came within hayling of us, but we could not perswade them to come aboord.

A banke. This morning, we came over a banke where we had but fifteene fathoms grosse ground, this afternoone, from twelve to foure North North-east halfe North five leagues, twenty fathoms sandy gravell and shels, the high land of Logosse bearing North-west by West nine leagues off. From foure to eight, North-east by North five leagues, two and twenty fathoms sandy gravell. From eight to twelve, five leagues thirty fathoms sandy ozie. From twelve to twelve the ninth, North-east twelve leagues thirtie foure fathome, blacke sandie ozie, the wind at South-west, faire weather, latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie minutes.

From the ninth at noone, untill the tenth, North-east one quarter East, twelve leagues thirty five fathomes ozie, this night the skie was all over-cast, and the wind over-cast with raine. This forenoone it was calme, and we making tryall with the Lead, found

Current. that the Current did set us North North-east. Here

Small Ilands. we had sight of certaine small Ilands, one of them rising in forme of a Sugar-loafe, and did beare West North-west from us at noone about eight leagues off. This afternoone we hoysed out our little Boat, which the Carpenters built upon our fore-Castle: by her wee made tryall of the Current againe, and found it to set East North-east. This Evening, at eight we anchored in twentie eight fathomes, having made no way all this after-noone, but as the Current set us, which was North-east about a mile an houre. Tuesday, the eleventh in the morning, we set saile againe, and so drove away to the North-east-ward, by means of the former Current, having no wind at all: this day

Formosa. at noone, wee had sight of the top of Formosa, above the clouds, the highest part of it bearing South-east by East, about eighteene leagues off, and

China. the neerest Iland unto us on the Coast of China,

was at the same time North-west from us seven leagues: heere wee had sight of many great Fisher-boates almost round about us, who sent certaine little Boats aboord us with fish, for which we paid them double the value at the first to encourage them to come againe. This Evening, at sixe, the wind came up at North North-east, by meanes whereof, and a little helpe of the Current setting towards the North-east by East, which made an East way nine leagues to the twelfth at noone. Heere we had the highest Land of Formosa, South-east, the neerest land about eight leagues off, the neather point of it East by North ten leagues off our depth, fortie sixe fathomes ozie: the latitude twentie five degrees twentie minutes. From the high land of Formosa, stretcheth out a lower Land to the water-side, being a white sandy shoare, and smooth sand Hils farther up the Countrey, much like to the Coast of Barbary.

Wednesday, the twelfth, from twelve to three East two leagues, here we were in the same depths, that wee had at noone, viz. forty sixe fathomes, beeing foure leagues off the foresaid sandy shoare, and seeing wee could lye no slent this way, wee tackt and stood off againe, stemming North-west and North-west by North, and North by West, making North-west eight leagues, where we had forty fathomes. From hence we stood in againe untill twelve, the next day our way East by East sixe leagues, here we had the Norther point of Formosa, East South-east ten leagues off, being in the latitude of twenty five degrees, fortie minutes, the depth fiftie six fathoms ozie: by this we [1. v. 053.] perceived that the Current had carryed us towards the East North-east. The thirteenth, from noone until six, we stood in East by South, and East South-east untill we had the foresaid point East South-east halfe East, sixe leagues off forty two fathomes. Here we tackt about the North-ward, lying North North-west and North-west by North, which made a North-west by West way, till two at

night about one halfe league, then the wind came up at North-west by West, untill sixe in the morning, with which halfe a league North-east by North, heere the foresaid point was East South-east halfe South. From sixe to twelve, it was calme with a cockling Sea, setting in upon the shoare, and yet by meanes of the Current setting towards the East North-east, we had by noone brought the said point South-east of us, about five leagues off, having forty foure fathomes ozie, the latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes.

Friday, the fourteenth in the afternoone, we perceived that the former Current was done, and that our ship was driving to the South-west-wards with a contrary Current, wherefore we anchored, having fortie two fathomes, a browne glistering sand, here wee rode untill eight at night, at which time finding the Current to set towards the East North-east: againe wee weighed with a little breath of wind Southerly, and within an houre after, the wind veered up at West South-west, and began to blow fresh. At eight at night, the fourteenth unto the fifteenth at noone, North-east by North halfe East, nineteene leagues, twentie sixe degrees thirtie minutes, the wind West and West by North. From the fifteenth at noone, untill the twelfth, the sixteenth, North-east by North, twentie foure leagues, latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie minutes, depth fifty five fathomes, black, sandie, ozie, the wind at West by North. From the twelfth, the sixteenth, untill the twelfth, the seventeenth, North-east by North, seven leagues, latitude twentie eight degrees eight minutes, by this I perceived, that the Current had set us North-east foure halfe leagues, the wind West South-west, depth fiftie fathoms, blacke, sandy, ozie. From the seventeenth, untill the eighteenth at noone, our way through the water, East North-east, ten halfe leagues, by the Current North-east one quarter East, five leagues latitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes, the wind North by West, and North North-west faire weather. From the eighteenth, untill the nineteenth at noone, our way through

Contrary Current.

the water North-east by North thirty foure leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees forty five minutes, depth sixty fathomes, sandie, ozie. The wind at first North North-west, and North North-west untill mid-night with faire weather. From thence untill noone, the next day West South-west and South-west very foule weather with much raine. From the nineteenth untill the twentieth at noone, North-east twentie eight leagues, latitude thirtie degrees thirtie five minutes, depth fiftie five fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind for the most part South-west and West South-west, the weather showrie.

Thursday, the twentieth, from three to six North-east two leagues & a half, depth thirty seven fathomes, blacke sand. From sixe to five, next morning, North-east by East nine leagues, eightie sixe fathomes, grosse, gray sand with some shels. From five to twelve, the one and twentieth, North-east nine leagues & a halfe, no ground in ninetie fathomes, here we were in one and thirtie degrees twentie five minutes, South South-west South, and South South-east, here I found that the Current had carryed us tenne miles to the North-wards of our computation in twentie foure houres. From twelve, the one and twentieth unto twelve, the two and twentieth, North-east two third parts North, twentie five leagues, latitude thirtie two degrees fortie minutes, here the great sound of Langasaque, was East about nine leagues off, and the South-east of Goto West by North ten leagues off. *Current.* *Sound of Langasaque.*

The three and twentieth, we arrived in a Port of Firando, called Cochee, which is about foure halfe English miles to the South-wards of the Haven of Firando. *Cochee.*

Their Returne.

THe eighteenth of December, Munday at noone, the Iles of Mexuma did beare North-west from us foure leagues off. Our course from Pomo being South South-west twentie five leagues, the wind North-west. From the eighteenth, at noone to the nineteenth, sixe leagues *Iles of Mexuma.*

South-west, little wind & variable, yet faire weather (as before) here we had the Iles of Mexuma, North-east by North nine leagues off, the latitude one and thirtie degrees thirtie two minutes, here we had seventie eight fathomes, streamy ground betwixt with a peppery sand and small shels. From the nineteenth to the twentieth at noone South-west fourteene leagues, latitude one and thirtie degrees two minutes, the wind from the West North-west to the North North-east, the weather very faire. From the twentieth, to the one and twentieth, South-west by West thirtie leagues, latitude thirtie degrees twentie three minutes, by this we found that the Current had set us thirteene miles to the North-wards of our account, the wind at North North-east, the weather faire. Friday, the two and twentieth, (from the former midday) we had made a South-west by West way twentie seven leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees fortie minutes, here our latitude course & distance agreed wel together. This day at noon we had thirtie five fathoms, smal sand & ozie, the wind North North-east and North-east faire weather.

[I. v. 654.] From Friday, to Saturday at noone, South South-west thirteene leagues. This morning, we came up with a Juncke of Nangasack, belonging to Jan Jowlson a Dutchman, and bound for Cambaya. I caused the Captaine of her to bring his Pasport aboord, which I perceived to bee a Goshon from the Emperour of Japan; I thereupon gave hin leave to depart. This day, about noone, we had one and fortie fathomes ozie. This twentie foure houres the wind was very variable, the weather close and some-what hazie; at foure in the afternoone, fortie seven fathomes ozie. From Saturday to Sunday noone, South-west halfe South, forty leagues, the wind at North and North North-west, close weather.

From Sunday noone, untill Munday noone, being Christmasse day, South-west halfe South fiftie two leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off the Coast of China, the neerest unto us was a small

Iland bearing West by South from us, about three leagues off, and did rise in the forme of a Cayman, the wind North North-east, and North-east, the depth in this place about thirty three fathomes ozie. This forenone, wee came up with a Juncke that kept the same course as we did, she had the Hollands Colours on her Poope, whereby we conceived that she had a Passe from them, but had shee beene good purchas, wee could not have dealt with her, because there was much wind, a loftie Sea.

From Munday noone to Tuesday noone, South-west by South, fiftie three leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off Logoseo, bearing North-west by West nine leagues off, here wee had one and thirty fathomes, blacke peppery sand. From hence wee steered in West South-west ten leagues, untill sixe at night. At which time wee had the Rockes of the point of Loamb West fortie leagues off, our depth twentie two fathomes, and white sand mixt. From sixe to twelve South-west by South, eleven leagues, twentie five fathomes ozie.

From twelve to twelve, the seven and twentieth, South-west halfe West, one and twentie leagues. This seven and twentieth, it blew a faire gale at North-east as before, and the weather cleered up, that we had sight of the Sunne, which we had not of a long time seene before. From noone untill mid-night South-west halfe West nineteene leagues: here by the North-star and Canopus, *Canopus.* we were in one & twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the depth fiftie five, sandy, ozie. From mid-night the seven and twentieth, unto mid-night the eight and twentieth, South-west nineteene leagues: heere by the Sunne, we were North twentie degrees, forty five minutes, the wind still at North-east, the weather faire. From the eight and twentieth, untill the nine and twentieth at noone, South-west thirtie eight leagues, latitude nineteene degrees fiftie three minutes, the depth seventie five fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind North-east, the weather faire: by this we gathered, that we had made our way to the West-ward of the South-west by West, by meanes of

some Current setting to the West-ward. From the nine and twentieth, untill the thirtieth, South-west halfe South, thirtie eight leagues, latitude eighteene degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at East North-east and East by North, the weather very faire, no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes. From Saturday untill Sunday at noone, which was the last of December, South-west by South, twentie seven leagues and a halfe, latitude seventeene degrees twentie minutes, wind East North-east, weather faire.

The first of January, from the last of December untill New-yeeres day at noone, South-west by South twentie eight leagues, latitude sixteene degrees ten minutes. Here the wind came up at North-east by North, the weather faire. From the first of January, untill the second at noone South halfe West, twentie eight leagues, the weather over-cast the wind at North-east by North. From this day noone, untill two of the clocke in the afternoone, South South-west halfe South three leagues, here wee had sight of a point of Land, bearing West from us eight leagues off.

From two in the afternoone, untill twelve the next day, South halfe East, fortie leagues, here we had Cape Varella North-west by North eight leagues off. This twentie foure houres we had much raine and dirtie weather. From the third at noone, untill the fourth at sixe in the morning, our way one with another upon a straight Line South South-west halfe West, thirtie leagues, here we were in eleven degrees, North latitude, of our depth twentie foure fathomes, as neere as I could ghesse. Here also wee had sight of Poolo Cecir, bearing South by East seven leagues off, and the Cape Cecir North by West sixe leagues from us. From sixe untill noone, West South-west thirteene leagues. From the fourth at noone, untill the fifth at noone, first South-west by West twentie two leagues, then South-west halfe West sixe leagues, and then South South-west halfe South one and twentie leagues, here wee were in nine degrees. The body of Poolo Candor,

Cape Cecir, or Cessir.

Poolo Candor.

bearing South South-west about seven leagues from us. Our depths from the fourth at noone, were from eighteene to fourteene fathomes: from sixteene to eleven, wee felt a Current setting our ship to the South-ward beyond our computation, this same night at Sun-setting, we found the variation to be one degree North-westing. This evening, at sixe of the clocke we had the South-east end of Poolo Candor, North-west foure leagues off, the wind North-east. From six this evening, untill twelve, the next South South-west thirtie leagues, latitude seven degrees ten minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather very faire. From the sixt untill the seventh at noone, South South-west thirtie six leagues & a half, latitude five degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather faire. From Sunday the seventh, untill Munday the eighth at noone South South-west halfe South fortie two leagues, latitude three degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east by East and East North-east, the weather faire. This day at foure in the afternoone, we had the North point of Poolo Timon, South-west by South about seven leagues off, we having runne from noone seven leagues South South-west. From Munday to Tuesday at noone, South South-west seven leagues, South-east sixteene leagues, and South seventeene leagues, the latitude one degree twentie five minutes; by this we perceived the Current had carryed us sixteene minutes to the Southwards of our computation.

Current.

[I. v. 655.]

Poolo Timon.

From this twelfth day untill foure in the afternoone South sixe leagues, our depth twentie foure fathomes streamy ground: here we saw Poolo Pengran South-west by South sixe leagues, and the head-land of Jore West South-west eight leagues off. From hence untill foure leagues off South South-east fourteene leagues off, eighteene fathomes, the same ground: from hence till noone, the tenth, South twelve degrees, here wee had seventeene fathomes. The tenth at noone, we had sight of Land. The Northermost high hummocke bearing West from us about sixe leagues off. This day at noone

by our judgement, we were ten minutes to the South-ward of the Line.

Thursday, the eleventh at noone, we were in one degree sixteene minutes South latitude, our course from the tenth at noone, South halfe West twentie two leagues. *Poolo Tayro.* Here the Souther Ile of Poolo Tayro, was due East from us three leagues off: our depth fourteene fathomes, ozie. This Poolo Tayro consisteth of seven or eight Ilands and Rockes mixt together, the longest tract of them is North North-west, and South South-east, the Northermost Ile is farre longer and larger then any of the rest. From *Poolo Pan.* this Norther-most Ile unto Poolo Pan, North-west halfe West nine leagues, the depth from the tenth at noone unto this present, was from seventeene to fourteene fathomes all alongst Poolo Tayro: when the Norther-most Ile of Poolo Tayro, East North-east halfe East three leagues from us, then the three hummocks on the North end of Banco did beare South-east ten leagues off; And *Mannapin.* the high Land of Mannapin South by East halfe East. From this day noone untill mid-night, South South-west halfe South tenne leagues: here we anchored seventeene fathomes soft ground, where we rid all night. The next morning, we had the Hill of Mannapin, South South-east halfe East, the low Land by the water side three leagues off, the next head-land to the North-wards, which riseth in three hummockes, when you are to the North-wards of it East North-east halfe North. About six leagues off, the twelfth at noone being at anchor in the same place, by our observation wee were in one degree one and fiftie minutes neerest, the wind at West North-west, weather faire. This afternoone we weighed and stood in towards the Coast of Sumatra, and at mid-night anchored *Pallimbam.* in twelve fathomes of the River of Pallimbam, finding nine, ten, and twelve fathomes ozie, as we ranged along.

Saturday, the thirteenth in the morning, we weighed againe (the wind Northerly) and steered along by the *Sumatra.* Sumatra shoare, through the Streights of Banco, untill *Straights of Banco.* wee came betweene the first and second point, which was

at eight at night, where we anchored in sixteene fathoms about two leagues off the Sumatra shoare. From the River of Pallimbam unto this place, we had nine, ten, eleven, twelve fathomes within two halfe leagues off the Sumatra side, all alongst until we came up neer the second point (which maketh the narrowest of the Streights) & there we found about twentie fathomes water. Sunday, the fourteenth, we set saile againe and borrowed faire aboord the Sumatra side in eight, seven and sixe fathomes untill wee had Lucepara, South-east by East, and then we haled away South South-east, South-east by South and South-east finding all the way five fathomes ozie, untill wee had brought Lucepara North by West about seven leagues off, and then the water began to deepen, having five fathomes & a halfe, sixe fathomes. Munday, the fifteenth, wee were in foure degrees fiftie eight minutes, wee being distant from Lucepara, thirtie sixe leagues South by East from it. From hence untill foure in the afternoone South South-west foure leagues. Here we saw a shoald above the water, about foure miles from us, West South-west. The two Ilands on the Coast of Sumatra, bearing upon the same point seven leagues off. Also Poolo Keero did beare East South-east halfe South. From this shoald five leagues off, and the high land of Marrough was South-west from the shoald aforesaid. *Marrough.* This Evening, the wind did hearten in at North-west: by which meanes we got in neere unto Poolo Peniang after mid-night, and there came to anchor untill the next day.

[I. v. 656.]

Chap. VIII.

William Hores Discourse of his Voyage in the Dragon and Expedition, from Surat to Achen, Teco and Bantam; and of the surprising the Dragon, Beare, Expedition, &c. in a Letter to the Companie.

To the Honorable Governour and Right Worshipfull Committees of the Companie of the English trading in the East India, &c.

Honorable and Right Worshipfull Sirs.

He passages of your businesse, in Captaine Bonners Voyage, to and at Surat (till then and long after very hopefull) you have by many advises from themselves, and severall relations from others, largely and particularly understood. Wherefore I shall therein be purposely silent, intending according to my poore meanes and abilitie, (the one being lost with your ships, and the other having alwayes beene very small) to acquaint you onely with such accidents as untill the said ships taking hapned. Wherein I shall humbly beseech, that you would be pleased to pardon my presumption, in offering to your view these imperfect and unworthy Lines, not doubting but others better able, will more accurately performe (what is by me omitted requisite your knowledge) then my insufficiency (especially at this time) is able to expresse, and poore imployment in your service affoorded not to be made partaker of.

Dragon parted from the Anne 17. Febr. neere Surat before Dabull.

The Dragon and other ships of that Fleet parting with the Anne, the seventeenth of Februarie, 1618. the one and twentieth following, anchored before the Road and Towne of Dabull, (it being formerly ordered by consultation to touch there) and not long after came a Boat

from the Governour-Deputie, to learne what and whence we were; whereof being certified, hee againe returned ashoare: and toward night, a grave man, Captaine of a Juncke, then in the Road, laden and bound for the Red Sea, with his sonne came aboord, bringing ten Oxen, ten Goats, three hundred Hennes, with great store of Rice, Fruits, &c. for a Present, to conferre with our Captaine about such things as should be propounded; and that night they lodged aboord. The morrow after (they remayning for pledges) Master Salbanke and Master Fursland went ashoare to the Deputie (the Governour himselfe being then at Court, eight dayes journey distant). The Chiefes of the Towne, as they affirmed, entertayned them very kindly, professing likewise that they were much contented with the English arrivall, and had long desired to have commerce with them, and to that end intreated to have a Factorie left, or the ships to ride, till notice thereof might be given to the Governour, because without his approbation they could not conclude of any thing. We had at this place great store of very good refreshing, indifferently cheape, large Beeves for sixe Rialls a piece, and Fruits, &c. great plentie for small prices: but none of the old remnants in the Lion could vend, yet upon future hopes, they promising fairely to deale hereafter for large quantities of broad Cloth, Lead, and other English commodities, Captaine Bonner deferred inforcing, advising thereof to Surat, that the next yeeres Fleet might doe to them as occasion required. The sixe and twentieth, the aforesaid Noghoda landed, to whom was given a faire in-laid Musket with the furniture thereof: He also earnestly desired an English Bible, which being given, he said, he would carefully keepe till some English were there resident, and then with their helpe would have it translated into Arabeck for his owne use.

A Junke of Dabull, laden and bound for the Red Sea.

Kind entertainment at Dabull.

The Dabullers desire Trade with us.

Store of refreshing at Dabull and good cheape.

Promising to buy quantities of cloth hereafter & Lead, but we could not put off any of the Lions remnant.

The Captaine of the Juncke desired an English Bible, to cause to bee translated into Arabeck.

It hath beene, I presume, long since related unto your Worships, how that during your Fleets aboad at Swally, two Mallabar Frigots put themselves under command of

your ships, affirming themselves subjects to a Ragia of Echaree neere Goa, and pretending to be sent by the King their Master, to capitulate with the English about establishing a Trade with him for Pepper, his Countrey, by their report, yeelding yeerly sufficient to lade two great ships, the triall whereof being by consultation assented unto, they both attended the Fleet to this place; and here one of them desired leave to depart before to the King to advize of our comming, that his Pepper might bee in more readinesse against our arrivall, and that an English Merchant might accompanie him to view the commodities, and cut price with the King, for whom sufficient Hostage should be left aboard the Dragon. Which was likewise agreed upon, Master Wight, Merchant, and Jno Tucker with him for Linguist, were dispeeded with him, and eight of the Prime men in both Frigats left for pledges.

The Historie of the offered Pepper at Bataquala.

The Lion being formerly disposed of for the Red Sea, it was ordered that shee should keepe the other ships companie to Dabull, there to vent, if possible, part or all those remnants brought from the Red Sea, for readie money, or to force them Trade, and the proceeding thereof to bee toward lading the Expedition with Pepper at Battacala: but the unfitnesse of those commodities for the Dabulleers, their faire promises and kind usage, procure their quiet this yeere, for which cause the Lions companie being judged needlesse any further, the seven and twentieth, shee was dispeeded upon her voyage: but before her departure, sixe hundred pounds sterling intended to be transported to Surat, was detayned for speedier lading the Expedition: having left Letters to be sent to Surat: toward night the Dragen, &c. set saile, intending next for Batachala. At Dabull enquirie was made for Tho. Sprage, who was sent from Brampoore into Gulcandawe, to recover a debt due by a Persian in that place, and at Surat it was reported, that the said Persian was forceably taken from him at this Towne, and Sprage also very much abused. But they denie ever

[I. v. 657.]

The Lion dispeeded for the Red Sea.

Sixe hundred pounds detayned for the lading of the Expedition.

Sprage not heard off at Dabull.

to have seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from us to apprehend both or either if they should at any time happen on them.

The fift of March, we anchored at Batachala, shooting three Peeces to give notice of our arrivall: and the next day about noone, Master Wight with the other Mallabar Frigat came aboord, by whom we understood, that at the Kings Towne, some three dayes journey thence, was Pepper to the quantitie of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes or upward, but the price was held hard at fiftie Rialls of eight the Candee, and would not be brought lower then fortie seven; the Pepper worse then that of Tercoo, and in all likelihood he had no intent for to sell it, but to keepe it for the Portugalls, with whom he hath continuall Trading, and this to bee but a device of those Rowers to free themselves from command of the English. The Candee at this place contayneth neere five hundred pounds.

The price of Pepper at Battagala at fiftie Rials the Candee.

The Candee five hundred pound.

Our hopes of this place proving no better: the third present, we set saile thence. Running along this Coast, we saw and met with many Juncks of the Mallabars, and not finding ought in them, save Coco-nuts and such trash, presently dismissed them, one excepted, belonging to the Samorine, which Captaine Bonner caused to returne with him, the sooner to procure satisfaction for goods and debts, left there by Peter Needham, &c. which Juncke certified of another of the Samorines laden with Pepper, riding at Panana, some twelve leagues to the Southward of Calicut, and bound for the Red Sea, at which place also the Samorine then kept his Court, where arriving the tenth dicto, a Messenger was sent to advertise the ships arrivall, to require satisfaction for his debts, &c. and to renew a Trade with us; all which motions hee seemed willing to entertaine, promising the twelfth following to meet and confer with Captaine Bonner upon the shoare neere the Sea-side, and after an end made of the old, to begin a new businesse. The King came at the time prefixed, having the day before drawne ashoare and unladen his Juncke, she riding within a River, at the mouth whereof was a great Barre, hindring

A Juncke of the Samorine detayned.

At Panana in the Samorines country twelve leagues from Surat, was a Junk of the Samorins laden with pepper, bound for the Red Sea.

Satisfaction of our debts demanded of the Samorine.

The Samorines cunning.

our seizing her, whom Captaine Bonner (attended with a Guard of fiftie small shot, &c.) met, delivered our Kings Majesties Letter with a Present to him; and after long debating, it was concluded, that in regard we knew not the summe due by goods left with him and others, not having any notice thereof; the payment should be deferred till information from Needham might be procured, and with advice of his Merchant consented to sell us Pepper: at present, seven or eight hundred Candees or more, at thirtie Rialls of eight, free of all charges. The Candee we found by triall thereof, with our English weights, to contayne five hundred and two pounds nete; whereupon resolving, it was concluded that the next day Master Wight and my selfe should view the quantitie and qualitie of the commoditie, which wee were to certifie Captaine Bonner (then aboord the small Pinnasse neere the shoare) who would thereupon have landed money, &c. and gone to weighing.

Pepper offered by the Samorine fraudulently.

The Candee five hundred and two pound weight.

But that night the Kings mind changed, and we landing early next morning, were refused sight thereof unlesse the King gave expresse order thereto, to whom also going, hee demanded when our Captaine would land, which wee certified him would not bee till wee had seene the Pepper, and could judge of the quantitie, and that then we should make signe for his comming. He then sent us backe with one of his Kinsmen to the Merchants house, willing us there to stay till he either came himselfe, or sent order for dispatch: but there we attended while past noone, and then not hearing ought returned to the King, who by his Jurabassa fell to discoursing of our Countrey manners, had Tumblers playing before him, and with such trifling delayes put off the time till neere foure after noone, when we entreated him to give us an answere, that we might returne to the Captaine, who all this while expected our comming. Whereupon taking us aside into a roome from sight of his people, he told us, that he had many matters of import wherof to conferre with the Captaine, which he would not have his owne people to take notice off, and

The Samorines dissimulations large discourse.

to that end had appointed a private house to be prepared for his entertainment not far from his Court, and therefore willed that Master Wight should tarrie and accompanie him presently thither, and that I should returne to the Captaine and bring him to the place assigned. I desired to see it, but he refused, appointing one of his attendants to goe with me to the Sea-side, there to tarrie Captaine Bonners landing, and conduct him to the foresaid house. But by the way considering, how indiscreet it would seeme, to motion his going to a place I had neither seene nor knew, especially in such a treacherous place, I told my Companion, that unlesse I might first see where the King intended to meet, I would not advise the Captaines landing; he perceiving me resolute, left me, and directed one of his Slaves to shew it me; who lead me neere two *English* miles up into the Countrey, and at length brought mee to a little house (but handsome enough) sited in the [I. v. 658.] midst of a small Wood, about which was a faire plaine a quarter of a mile every way, and without that, round environed with thicke and high Woods: which place ministring justly great cause of suspition. I returned to the King, whom I met upon the way with fortie or fiftie attendants comming thither, with him also Master Wight; to whom I shewed my opinion of the place, and that it now grew late, and therefore nothing to be done that night.

Comming to the house, the King sate a good while musing without speaking, when we desired leave to depart, it being now neere night and past time for the Captaines landing, and that if he pleased we should againe returne on the morrow, as also to certifie his desire of private conference with the Captaine, but withall intreated, that we might lose no more dayes, but that according to his former conclusion, we might dispatch our businesse. After a little pause, he commanded all his owne people out of the roome, leaving none but Master Wight, Jno. Tucker Linguist, and my selfe. The doores being shut, hee beckned us, and then readily finding his Porteguise

The Samorine denieth to perform with us according, to his promise under fortie Rialls the Candee.

tongue (till then concealed) told us resolutely, that he could not performe at the price contracted for; the Pepper being none of his but the Merchants of the Towne, and that under fortie Rialls of eight the Candee he could not accomplish; and if they or any other would sell cheaper, he gave licence thereto, but if none, then at that price himselfe would furnish, and that he would satisfie his debt when we could certifie how much and wherefore it was due: Also, that he had other businesse to confer with the Captaine, which he said should not be mentioned, unlesse himselfe were present: with which answere we returned aboord to Captaine Bonner, who sent him word ashoare by one of his servants who came with us, that the English should largely pay themselves upon his Juncks, both for the goods he detayned, and for this abuse also.

Bonner threatned the Samorine, to take his Juncke, and pay our selves.

The fourteenth of March we departed thence, the nineteenth anchored at Brimion; where failing of refreshing or water, the people by the Portugalls instigation, refusing to let our Caskes be filled under eightie Rialls of eight: the twentieth, altogether that night set saile, and that night doubled Cape Comorine.

A Pinnasse ordered to be sent from Achen from Rob. Bonner unto Teco and Bantam.

The two and twentieth of March, a consultation was held aboord the Dragon, wherein was propounded and concluded, sending the Portugall Pinnasse for Bantam: and by the way to touch at Teco, to learne the estate of that Factorie (if any were) to stay there foure dayes, and at Bantam ten, and then unlesse by Captaine Jordaine detayned longer, to make all haste possible backe to Teco, there to attend the Dragons arrivall from Argin, to informe the Companies affaires at Bantam. In her was appointed William Rickes Master, with twentie other, and my unhappy selfe also, that Factorie being likeliest to want attendance, and I willing to my best service, though in so meane a condition, as it hath pleased your Worships to dispose me.

The foure and twentieth dicto, about foure after noone we parted with the ships, they standing away for Achen, and we for Teco, of whose proceedings there I am alto-

gether ignorant, and shall therefore presume to referre your Worships to Master Nichols his advice (if as I much feare hath hapned) the rest from the Factors there have with your ships miscarried.

The sixt of Aprill, 1619. wee arrived at Teco, and hearing nothing at this place, save what your Worships have long since beene acquainted with, having watered and sent advice to Captaine Bonner, of our arrivall, &c. The eleventh following, we set saile for Bantam. Having had divers dayes calme, and sometimes the wind contrarie: the three and twentieth dicto, wee anchored twixt the salt Hils in the Streights of Sunda: and the seven and twentieth toward night, a small gale blowing, we weighed and intended to have put into Bantam Road before day, but the usuall calme forced our anchoring some foure miles short of Poolo-Paniang: and in the morning, readie to set saile, we descried ten ships and foure Juncks, riding under the foresaid Iland, who with that breath weighed and stood toward us, we knew not what to conceive of them, little expecting to have found so many English, especially those ships in that place; the better to make them, we hoysed out our Praw and in her three men, to row untill they could make their Colours; and if Dutch, to repaire backe to us; if English, to goe aboord them, the latter whereof they did. Ere long the Admirall was thwart of us, whom Master Rickes saluted with three Peeces, he answered with one, and sending his Skiffe aboord, willed our Master to weigh and stand after him to Morrogh, and me to come aboord his ship, and bring such Letters as I had with me, which I presently did, where I have related all those miserable and lamentable accidents, which, I presume, your Worships long since understood by the James, safely arrived home.

The Pinnasse arrived among our ships neer Bantam, the 23. Aprill.

The nine and twentieth Dicto, the Fleet anchored Morrogh, and the next day Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Pring, &c. came aboord our Pinnasse, and dispeeded her for Bantam, if possible to get some provision for the shippes, as also to learne if any Flemmish shippes were at Jacatra or there-

abouts: but speeding of neither, we returned to the Fleete the second of May. The ten ships then at Morrogh, were the Moone, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, the James Royall, Gift, Unicorne, Advice, Rose and Bee: Captaine Jourdaine being some foureteene dayes before our comming gone with the Samson and Hound, for Jambee, Patania, Syam, and other places, besides the foure Juncks, three whereof were from China, the other from Patania, and our Pinnasse newly also by Sir Thomas Dale ordered for to attend his Fleete.

Capt. Jordain in the Samson and Hound went for Jambe, Pata. Syam, to visit those Factories about the 9. of Aprill.

The first of May, the China Juncks began to be Romidged, and their goods taken into your ships, for debts owing by the Chineses to your Worships. After which, cutting downe their masts, yards and sayles, to prevent their lading the Pepper at Bantam, left them there ryding: the quantitie and qualitie of those goods exceedes my knowledge to advize, I being both a stranger, and by your Worships order not to meddle in businesse of that nature.

[I. v. 659.] *Foure China Junks taken by our ships, their goods laden in to the James, &c. the 1. May 1619.*

The foure and twentieth of May, Owen Bodman was executed at the yard arme in the Moone. This day the Fleete fitted to sayle, and the Rose in stead of the Pinnasse, was intended for Teco and Achen, to advize Captaine Bonner of proceedings there with a Cargazon of Rice, Steele, &c. Consined to Master Fursland at Achen; In which ship also it pleased Sir Thomas to appoint my returne. One of the foresaid Juncks being of Patania, and most of her lading Rice, belonging to the Flemmings: so much thereof as was thought fitting, each ships provision was taken out, and she this day dismissed. The five and twentieth Dicto the Fleete set sayle, Sir Thomas Dale with the Moone, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, Advice and Pinnasse, standing for Ingano, to recover (if possible) part of the Monies lost, in the Sunne, and to releeve those men left there, if any were alive; and Captaine Pring with the

Owen Bodman was executed the 24. May 1619.

Our ships set saile out of the Streights of Sunda, the 25. of May.

A Junke of Rice belonging to the Dutch.

Our Fleet, Sir Tho. Dale being Admirall, with all the rest of our ships did set saile out of the Streights of Sunda, 25. May, 1619. Some went to Ingano to weigh the money and ordnance left in the Sunne.

James Royall, Gift, Unicorne and Bee for the Coast: intending there all to meete, and to come with their joynt strength to Priaman, there to meete with the ships from England, and also Captaine Bonners, and altogether to goe to Bantam.

Our Fleet purposed to returne again to Bantam by the last of Sept.

The fifteenth of June we arrived at Teco, where we made little stay, but having watered, &c. and left letters for Captaine Bonner, of the past proceedings at Bantam, and future purposes for this place, departed thence the nineteenth Dicto from Achen, going betwixt the Mayne of Sumatra and the Shoalds, which from Teco lye foure degrees or more of North latitude, and stopping every night: The ninth of July, about sixe in the evening, a storme began at North-west (we being then anchored some fifteene leagues to the Northward of Barrous) which increased in great extremitie till about mid-night with very fearefull Thunder, Lightning, and terrible Raine, we had but one anchor aground, having the Shoalds and the Mayne on every side of us within two leagues. In this extremitie, not knowing what course to take, but onely to attend Gods mercy in our deliverance, our Cable brake, and we bare roome backe over these Shoalds in an exceeding darke night, with which formerly we durst scarse deale at noone-day; yet the never forsaking mercy of the Almightie preserved us from all those dangers, and with daylight also sent us faire weather, when necessitie enforced determination to beare backe againe for Teco: it is said we were the first ship that ever went this way, and I thinke no man that dare depend upon his skill, to adventure without sight of land, will ever saile that way againe.

The Pinnasse sent backe againe from Bantam to Teco, Priaman and Achen.

The one and twentieth dicto, we had another great storm, which began about two after noone, with very much Wind, Thunder and Raine, which lasted about foure houres, split our maine saile, and blue away our sprit-saile; Rich. Crane, one of our companie, being then upon the yard arme, the braces, lifts, and all the rigging of the sprit-saile yard at once broke, and hee with his head downewards hung (at every set of the ship covered with the Sea)

The Pinnasse passage from Teco to Achin.

Rich. Crane, miraculously saved.

above a glasse space, no man being able by any meanes to succour him, till at last, faintnes & wearines made him let goe, and as he drove by the ships side tooke hold of a Rope, by which meanes, next to the Almighties mercy, his life was beyond expectation miraculously preserved;

Price Hawkins stricken with lightning, but partly recovered.

another, named Price Hawks, standing in the waste, was by a flash of Lightning strooke dumbe and lame over all his body, lying in most lamentable plight for many dayes, yet, God be thanked, his speech is a little returned, but a kind of dead numbnesse in both his legs and armes, maketh him still continue a very miserable man, distressed as aforesaid.

The Pinnasse driven back againe to Teco.

The three and twentieth dicto, we returned to Teco, and by reason of our wants, both of Cordage, Sailes, and Ground-tacke, of which there was no more in the ship then was at that time in use, no more then one Hogshead of flesh, no bread but Rice and that not sweet, no other drinke for sicke men, &c. but water; but nineteene men in the ship, whereof five very sicke, and divers others lame: It was resolved through importunitie of the companie thereto, to remayne there and attend reliefe from the Dragon, or other English; but in the interim, a rumour of Flemmish ships comming from Bantam, forced us change resolution: and the sixt dicto, with our weake crew put to Sea, in hope either to meet the ships from Achen, or to get our intended parke, and by that meanes to ease our selves of some of those miseries. Having had since our departure from Teco a very faire gale: The tenth

The Dragon & Expedition goe to Teco.

dicto, to our great comforts we met the Dragon and Expedition, betwixt the Ilands Nimtam and Batta: so soone as we came neere, Captaine Bonner sent his Skiffe aboord, to whom I went and delivered his Letters from Master Spalding, Master Ball, &c. Sir Tho. Dale by reason of his sicknesse having also referred him to them for advise. The next morning at a Consultation it was concluded, that the Rose should returne backe to Teco, in regard of her unfitnesse for any Voyage, as also for that the goods in her would vend so well here, or better then at Achen, the In-

voice whereof was inclosed in a Letter, sealed and directed to Master Rich. Fursland, which I then likewise delivered: By Captaine Bonner I understood of two moneths Trade granted at Teco, of above one thousand and three hundred Bahars of Pepper, then in the Dragon, and of more then one thousand and five hundred remayning at Achen unbought, for lacke of meanes. To the end that so little as might be of our short time should be lost; the fifteenth in the night, Captaine Bonner sent off his barge with Master Nichols and my selfe, to goe ashoare, and acquaint the King, &c. with our licence for Trade; as also to take an house, and so much as might be, to set each thing in a forwardnesse. The King seemed very willing; appointing, as we desired, a very convenient house close by the sea side, next to the Custome-house, and promised so soone as he saw the Kings Letter, musters of our goods, and had concluded of the price; order should be given for present weighing.

Two moneths Trade obtayned at Teco. [I. v. 660.] 1500. *Bahars remayning at Achen unbought, for lack of meanes.*

The nineteenth, Master Nichols went aboord the Dragon, riding two leagues without the Road, and brought the Kings Letter ashoare with him, which seene and read, Proclamation thereof was presently sent into the Countrey, and many in the Towne had good quantities of Pepper, which they would not sell till the King had first begunne. The one and twentieth, the Dragon &c. came into the Road, and musters of goods landed, the greatest part whereof was Cainkeenes, blue Selas; and the price was concluded, fiftie Selas, thirtie five Cainkeenes, sixteene blue Byronnes, red Selas thirtie two, and of Bastaes according to the goodnesse, eight, ten, and twelve Pieces for a Bahar, which valued according to the rates worth in readie money, twentie Rials the Bahar; and it was agreed, that the next morning the King should beginne to weigh, the Custome of goods not to be payed in kind; but to land whatsoever wee would, and to pay fourteene the hundred Custome, in Rials of eight: for all the Pepper should be payed, either with goods, or money; a very hard condition and wondrous unadvisedly consented to, by those

Pepper bought at Teco.

The price of Pepper, and of Surat goods.

Fourteene per centum custom at Teco.

formerly there employed; but now it is continued, and little hope to get it ever reclaymed. Some goods were this day landed, being first opened above, and sent ashoare in bags, to prevent wetting; and small quantities at once, for feare of fire and treacherie, both which are very usuall here (but especially the latter) more then in any part of India.

Little hope ever to have the great Custom abated.

Fire and treacherie usuall in Teco.

Alteration of the price of Pepper.

The two and twentieth dicto, the King &c. returned to the Balley, refusing their former Contract, and would not himselfe sell under fortie Cainkeenes, and sixtie blue Selas the Bahar; but gave free leave to any other that would; which was nothing: for till he began, none would sell a Catee, so that necessitie inforced our assenting. The sixe and twentieth our trade began, and this day weighed the first Pepper, the contents whereof, and of the succeeding dayes, I forbeare to recite, having collected it together in a note herewith unto your Worships. Master Nichols &c. being aboord the Dragon, this day Captaine Bonner discoursing of the businesse past at Bantam, and his owne at present in the Dragon, fearing lest at the Fleets arrivall, the Pepper in her should be taken out, and sent home upon some other ship that had beene long in the Countrey, as also dreading the Flemmings arrivall (of whom hee was alwayes wondrous suspicious) affirmed, he had no intent to lade more Pepper in the Dragon, till he knew certainly how he should be disposed of; but would take it into the Expedition, whereto he said shee should be presently fitted, and the Dragon kept cleare and prettie for a Man of Warre, in case the Flemmings should come: his reason was, that he could not at any time after take it into his ship, of which if he could dispose, hee could likewise by the same power command the Expedition, and goods therein: in which determination he seemed to be firme; and gave order for the Expeditions fitting roomes. But the next day after, arrived Henry Bate Merchant, from the ship Beare; who the day before anchored at Priaman; and the eight and twentieth of August aforesaid, arrived at Tecoo: at instant of whose comming, but upon what

Bonner is very suspicious of the Hollanders, and disposed himselfe for a Man of Warre.

presumption or reports I cannot certainly determine, Captaine Bonner changed resolution, and proceeds to lade the Dragon, filling each place with lumber, romaging her bread-roomes, and so cloying her deckes, as was not possible to use her Peeces in greatest extremitie; by which unhappie accident, Wee your poore Servants have with losse of lives, or goods, or both, indured excesse of most base, and past compare, contemptible usage, from an ingratefull and uncivill Nation, with many other never to be satisfied or forgotten injuries.

Upon the Arrivall of the Beare, Bonner altered his resolution of fitting his ship for a man of Warre, and lade her into England.

The Dragon pestred.

The Dragon uncivill.

The seven and twentieth, all night being very tempestuous, fearefull thunder and lightning, and abundance of raine, we had under our house, in a roome for that purpose, some small store of steele Bettle boxes, and such like; where also lay two men, appointed by Capt. Bonner to watch the house, the boat being left behind them ashoare. That night John Cocket (alias Tucker) a youth, who had long lived at Surat, and he also lodged there: about midnight came theeves to open the doore, which one within perceiving, with crying out scarred them away; two houres after, they returned; and one of them putting in his arme, was strucke at with a sword, but missed, fled away the second time; and they within made the doore so fast as they could (which was but hurdles.) About foure in the morning, comming againe, & opening the doore, one went in, taking some Brasse Bettle boxes, our men being all fast asleepe; and in returning, rubbed against Tuckers legs who starting up, caught hold of him, and cried, A theefe, I have him; which scarce pronounced, with a pitifull accent, cried out againe, Oh, hee is gone, and hath stabd mee with his Creeze: which was so sodainely done, as those who lay by him had not time to rescue him. There was at that time aloft the Surgeon of the Dragon &c. who presently ran downe with a light, but too late; the villaine having with a knife given him two wounds, one whereof to the heart, who without speaking more words then, Lord have mercie upon me, presently died.

Discource of theft in Teco, the seven and twentieth of Aug.

John Tucker slaine the seven and twentieth of Aug.

[I. v. 661.] Wee in vaine searched each bush and place about our house, and I went to call the Cowals (or Waiters) who every night till this, kept watch in a Balley within twenty paces of our house: missing whom, I went instantly to the Pongolo Cowallas house, and calling him, asked him where was the Watch; he said, at the Balley; which I denying, he affirmed to have charged one that night. Then I told him we had a man slaine, and willed him to search narrowly, if any suspicious person could be apprehended, he forthwith went and acquainted the King therewith, who presently came downe with the Chiefe thereabouts, saw the dead bodie, and affirmed, he would doe what might be, to find the murtherer: Master Nichols charged the Cowals to bee actors, or authors hereof, and required to have them all sent for, and one after another to touch the Corps, whereto the King gave order: and when each one had taken him by the hand, and no cause to suspect any, appeared; Master Nichols demanded if there were no more Cowals; it was answered, no more save one, who was sicke, and kept his bed; him the King commanded to be sent for, whose very lookes and demeanour condemned him in the opinion of all, to bee the villaine sought for, the King commanded to take the dead man by the hand, which with extreme quaking, and many distracted gestures and answeres he did, but would not hold it any time. Master Nichols urged this to be the man, and required Justice. The King caused him to be bound, and professed in his conscience that was the man who kild him, but that hee must be tried by their Law also, whereto the fellow assented.

A story of trial of a Malefactor in a strange maner.

And while preparation was made thereto, wee sent word to Captaine Bonner, who came ashoare to see the event hereof: presently after whose comming, a fire was made, and an iron pan with a gallon of oyle set thereon; which leasurely boyled till it came to such a degree of heat, that a greene leafe but dipped therein was sodden and shivered. The prisoner then called, and persisting in deniall of the fact, was in testimonie of his innocencie, to take out of the

said oyle a small ball of brasse, little bigger then a Musket shot, with his naked hand; and that if any burning or scalding appeared thereon, hee was contented to die: which hee addressed himselfe to performe; stripping up his sleeve above the elbow, and taking a kind of protestation, desiring that as he was cleare thereof, so he might prosper in this act; dipped his hand to the wrist in the burning oyle, tooke out the ball, held it fast, and crying, Olla Basar, or, great is the Lord, tost it up, caught it againe, and then cast it on the ground; shewing his hand unto all that would, which had no more signe of hurt, then if hee had experimented the same in cold water. The Devill, it seemes, being loth at that time to lose his credit. The fellow was instantly released, and within an houre after returned in his holiday apparell, and none so lustie as hee, though but a little before he had beene sicke, and so weake, as he was faine to be brought upon mens shoulders to his triall: and this was all the justice we could have, for our murdered man; though in all likelihood, and their judgements also, he was the actor.

This businesse ended, the King propounded to Captaine Bonner, that our time of Trade began now to be short, and that there was great store of Pepper yet to be had, which might speedily be bought for readie money: the people being unwilling to deale for any more Cloth, in regard the Junkes from Argin were daily expected with great store from the King, who would force their taking thereof; and that having sold before for readie money, they would make the better shift: which he said was alike to us, our commodities being as vendible in other places; and the new ship (the Beare) having brought good store of mony, which might be wel imployed: whereto consent being given, the price was cut, twentie two Rials the Bahar, and the assemblie dismissed. That night good store of Pepper was brought downe to be weighed the next day, many of the Chiefes affirming, that there was in and about Tecoo, above a thousand Bahars Pepper, which so fast as could be weighed, would be brought in. The King gave

Twenty two Rials a Bahar of Pepper at Tecoo.

The Dragon went out of Tecoo Road into deeper water.

us leave, that if in the night we saw any about the house, we should detaine them prisoners till the next day; and in case they refused to come unto us, being called, we should shoot them. and the perill to lie upon their owne heads. The nine and twentieth dicto, Captaine Bonner perceiving the Dragon to bee alreadie deepe, and hoping ere long to have her full lading, weighed out of the Road, by the Iland, and anchored without, attending a wind to goe to the Southward of those Ilands, there to ride, and take the rest of her lading.

Divers boats laden with Pepper aboord the Dragon.

Our men wearied about the Pepper.

Six Hollanders comming into the Road, were adjudged English ships shewing no colours.

Found by their Huls to be Holland ships.

Set upon the Dragon unprovided, and her men wearied before.

The Admirall and Vice-Admirall laid her aboord, and all the other foure ships discharged at her as they passed by; she being altogether pestered, no Peece free but one, & could come by no powder or shot.

The first of October, about foure in the morning, the Dragon weighed, and neere eight, with the Breeze set saile, and came into the foresaid Road; not long after, all the boats and Skiffes of the Dragon, Expedition, and Rose, came ashoare to fetch Pepper, who laded so fast as they could; but before all were laden, sixe Saile were descried, standing with a fresh gale at South, toward the Road of our ships. The Boats forthwith put off, and had very much labour to row to windward, the men being much wearied before, with mooring the ships, and carrying the bags of Pepper: Captaine Bonner judged them to be Sir Thomas Dales Fleet, who had determined to arrive there, by the fine of September; and therefore, till they came within lesse then a league, that their Hulls shewed who they were, no Colours being abroad, not suspecting them: and then before any provision could be made for defence, the Admirall and Vice-Admirall layed the Dragon aboord, all the other as they went, by shooting so many Peeces as could be brought to beare upon her, who had that day taken in above an hundred Bahars of Pepper, had all her men even spent with labour, and was at that time so cloyed as was never poore, all emptie and full of caske, bread, and other provisions then upon her deckes, and all her lower Gunnes so stowed up with lumber, as that in so little time, as was then to provide, not more then one could be cleered, and that but once discharged; powder, and shot in that extremitie not to bee come by. With those Ordnance which were cleere, the Fight was maintained very hot

[I. v. 662.]

about three glasse, or more; till Captaine Bonner (his worthie resolution approving his zeale to doe your Worshippes his uttermost service) received a mortall wound, with a shot in the right side, which remained in his bodie, who being carried downe, the ship fired, in foure or five severall places most pitifully torne, and many men slaine, shee became a Prey, rather then a Prize unto them.

The other foure Dutch ships stood in to the Beare, Expedition, and Rose; who seeing, as is said, the Dragons disaster, yeelded also the two first without shooting a shot. Worthie Sirs, I was not at present an actor at this surprise, though I shall have alwayes cause to bewayle what I then suffered; and therefore must beseech your favourable acceptance of this small recitall, till others therein employed, of farre better abilitie then my selfe, shall largely acquaint you with every circumstance: neither dare I persist in this subject, lest just passion, caused by remembrance of so late felt, and (unlesse by your Worships clemencie relieved) never to bee recovered miserie, should transport mee beyond those limits, wherein I must now willingly containe my selfe. But this much I may truely professe, if (as is a common Maxim) contraries hold the same reason of proportion in change of qualitie, they may be expected to be most kind friends; for alreadie, we have found them most sterne insulters, and beyond compare cruell enemies: and had not more true compassion, pitie, and reliefe, beene extended to us from Infidell Moores, then from these Dutch Christians, three hundred of your Servants (unhappie men) a great number of whom, would not, a few houres before, have changed fortunes even with the chiefest and unworthiest of that Crew, had left their dead Carcases a prey to beasts and fowles, and subjected their living bodies to miserable servitude, if a greater chastisement for our sinnes had not beene inflicted.

The three other ships also taken without shooting one Peece.

Hollanders most sterne insulters and incomparable cruell enemies. If the Infidels had not beene more mercifull then the Hollanders, three hundred men had perished. The Hollanders put our men in Irons, in their ships all night in open ayre, in a most raynie and tempestuous night neither respectingsicke nor maymed.

Being possessed of our ships, they straight way sent the English aboord theirs, and for refreshing after so great labour, as they had that day sustayned, set them in Irons upon the gratings, in such a night of wind, raine, thunder

and lightning, as either before or since I never saw; without respect to either sicke or wounded: many of whose lives shortly after payd for that nights barbarous entertainment.

The next morning turned them ashoare with ragges, amongst were fortie sixe of the Stars men, even till now kept Prisoners.

The next morning early, they turned all ashoare with such poore ragges, as they would suffer them to weare on their backes upon the mayne at Tecoo, beeing the foresaid foure shippes Company, and fortie sixe of the Starres men; till then also kept Prisoners, there beeing then a shoare in the Factorie, William Nichols, Henry Bate, and my selfe; where so good order was taken for the sicke and wounded, as the times Confusion, and poore meanes then there would permit.

Rob. Bonner was sent ashoare, offering to carrie away the bed he lay upon, which for triple the value was redeemed.

The third day following, Captaine Bonner was sent ashoare with a Gardian, attending him to the house sent by the Dutch Admirall, to carry backe even the poore bed he lay upon, which for triple the value was redeemed, where Griefe and Anguish adding a violent Fever and Spasma, to his former deadly wound: having heretofore well deserved the repute of a Worthy, now shewing no lesse a Christian man, and with a resolution well fixt on the merits of our Redeemer; yeelded his soule into the hands of the Almightie, the ninth of October, leaving us distressed justly to lament his losse, who were before enough sorrowfull afflicted with remembrance of passed misery, and expectation of more and greater ensuing calamitie, whose bodie as he desired, was buried upon the little Iland at Tecoo, so neere his brother Thomas as could be ghessed.

His death with commendation, 9. October.

God mooved the Heathen to favour our people. The King did visit Captaine Bonner, and furnisht him with needfull, and offering all courtesie.

Somewhat to comfort us in this distresse, it pleased the Lord to give us favour in those peoples sights, who used us fairely and well, as could have beene expected in any Christian part of the World. The King would divers times visit Captaine Bonner, and each day present him with such Cates as were there esteemed fittest for so sicke a man, desiring him also to bee comforted, and that both they and Countrey should bee readie both to protect and relieve us, which was well performed: for so long as

the Flemmings rode there, one thousand men armed lay within a quarter of a mile of our house ready upon any occasion; and a continuall Market for victuall was kept at our doore, wherein all provisions sold cheaper then before our ships were taken.

The names of the Holland ships departing from Tecoo to Priaman and Bantam, where they had thirty five saile besieging Bantam.

The fifth dicto, the Hollanders having taken in their Pepper at Tecoo, set sayle with these ships following, viz. The Vapan van Sealand, Admirall in her; William Johnson, Commander of the Fleet; the Huerlam, New Zeland, Neptunes, English Starre, Post-part, the Dragon, Beare, and Expedition for Priaman, intending thence for Bantam, to the rest of their Fleet, there consisting of thirtie five sayle besides them, and were then besieging Bantam.

The Pangram at Bantam, and the Hollander veying for slaughter one of anothers people. [I. v. 663.]

The Pangram and they Vying for dead mens heads, one for Hollanders and the other for Javas, giving Rewards; and in which deadly difference, it was unhappie Diegoes destinie to bee a sufferer; who after his being taken in the Starre and kept Prisoner, making an escape in a Prow from Jacatra, intending to have secured himselfe in the English house at Bantam, was by the James apprehended and beheaded instead of a Dutchman; leaving the Rose in the Road, having first taken out all her Ordnances, Powder, and Munition, and in her twelve Hogsheads salt flesh, two Buttes of Wine; and some few bagges of bread, and a very small proportion of watercaske, for the foresaid number of men, except such as in the interim ranne away into their service, to transport our selves whithersoever we could.

Diego Fernandes beheaded, being taken for an Hollander.

The Rose left unto the English in Tecoo Road with the particulars in her.

About this time there arrived at Tecoo a man (as himselfe said) belonging to Monanchabo; who reported confidently (but whether by the Flemmings instigation, or his owne knowledge I cannot determine) that at the place whence he came, two ships and a Pinnasse were said to be taken at Jambee by foure other ships, which is much to be doubted of Captaine Jordan, &c. The English on the Starre likewise, affirming they had heard of foure ships which were double manned, and marvellously well fitted, sent purposely to take them, which the Lord, I trust, in

A man of Monanchabo, reported Capt. Jourdaine to be taken at Jambe.

The men taken in the Starre, doe report that the Hollanders sent out ships double manned to take C. Jordaine.

his mercy hath prevented. The foresaid Blacke was thirtie dayes from Monanchabo thither, and though not commonly yet sometimes advice from Jambee, commeth hither over-land.

During our abode at Tecoo, before the Rose could be fitted to sayle, it pleased the Almightie to take compassion on our distresse, and to deliver us from the many inevitable dangers, yea, even confusions, which were likely presently to light upon us, by sending in thither Captaine Charles Cliffingham with the Palsgrave, Elizabeth and Hope; who by consultation at the Cape, were intended for Priaman, and arrived at Tecoo, the three and twentieth of October, aboord whom the men ashoare were forth-with dispersed. M. Nichols, and Henry Bate sent in a small Praw to Achin; and the Rose, in that poore and weake state shee then was, and no otherwise concluded, to be dispatched for England to advise of these accidents and proceedings. Concerning the intendments of the three foresaid ships, as also the end of sending those mentioned to Achin, I am ignorant, and therefore shall humbly referre your Worships to their owne advices. The foresaid ships with the Rose, set sayle altogether from Tecoo, the tenth of November, & at Nimtam parted the fourteenth dicto, & the Lord of his mercie vouchsafed us so faire a passage, that with the losse of but one man, who also was sicke before we left Tecoo; (notwithstanding our hard allowance, most of our Bread, and much of our Rice beeing consumed and spoyled with Wormes and Vermine) was arrived at the Cape Bonæ Spei, all in sound health, the eight and twentieth of January 1619.

The Palsgrave, Elizabeth and Hope, arrive at Tecoo very happily, who tooke in all our men.

Will. Nichols & Henry Bates go to Achen to the King, to complaine of the Hollanders.

The Rose ordered to be sent for England.

The three ships and Rose depart out of Tecoo Road the 10. of Novem.

The Rose arrived at Soldania, the 28. of January.

Going ashoare at Soldania, we found Letters left by Captaine Adams, (the Copie whereof is herewith inclosed) also of two Dutch ships departed thence home-ward, left by an Englishman, passenger in one of them; the Copie whereof is herewith likewise inclosed. We had our Sayne ashoare to fish, and the Countrey people demeaned themselves as formerly they accustomed, but the next day returning againe ashoare to fish and water. The most

They found Capt. Adams Letter, and of 2. Dutch ships.

tragicall and wofull accident befell us, that ever happened to any English in these parts: eight of our men going to the River by Land, carryed the Sayne with them to fish, and were all by the Salvages either miserably slaine or kept away from us; we having found the dead bodies of but foure of them. The cause which should excite them to such an horrid and unheard of attempt I cannot conceive, unlesse (as is most probable) some wrong offered by the Dutch lately gone hence, have moved them to practise and exercise this Treachery to us now, and to bee doubted, will bee indeavoured to all that shall hereafter arrive.

The Salvages at the Cape have slaine eight of our men. Thought to be provoked thereunto by wrongs done the Dutch.

Having watered our ship, buried so many of the slaine men as could bee found, and left Letters for any that should arrive after us, we set sayle from Soldania. The second of February, about noone, past the Equinoctiall, The fifth of March, and the of arrived at in England. The Almightie having of his inestimable clemencie protected and delivered us, from the exceeding many and eminent dangers of a most miserable Voyage, and vouchsafe us safe returne into our Native Countrey, for which and all other gracious favours from our beginnings to this day extended, his great and glorious Majestie be extolled and magnified, both now and for evermore. Amen. Amen.

Come from Saldania the second of Feb.

Your Worships poore Servant in all dutie and service ever at your command,

WILLIAM HOARE.

[I. v. 664.]

Chap. IX.

The Journall of Master Nathaniel Courthop, his Voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being chiefe Commander of the two Ships, the Swanne, Admirall; Master Davis, Master: and the Defence, Vice-Admirall; Master Hinchley, Master: together with his residence in Banda, and occurrents there; contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted.

§. I.

English kindnesses to the Dutch; the surrender of Poolaroone to His Majestie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch Hostilitie, their taking the Swanne, Salomon, and Attendance, and keeping the Defence betrayed by Fugitives, with other wrongs.

Let none accuse me for tediousnesse, or being too punctuall in this Relation: seeing the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence; and hence may his Majesties right to these Islands bee knowne to future Ages: for which I adde this witnesse after Spurway.

E set saile from Bantam the last day of October, 1616. and arrived at Maccassar, the seventeenth of November, with the Swanne: the Defence came in the nineteenth, where I went on shoare to get readie our provision of goods and Rice, having no goods as then in Bantam, to serve those places; but had commission to take them here: where I found small store; the chiefest being one hundred Quians of Rice.

**English kindnesse to the Dutch at Maccasser. Of these things see before in Spurway, Chap. 3.*

The fift of December, I spyed a boate alongst the shoare, being a Skiffe of the Hollanders come from their ship (which was in the offing) thinking they had had a Factory here: but I soone certified them, it was dissolved, the people their enemies. Whereupon they intreated me to stand their friend: and I forthwith * went to the King

and intreated him to dismisse them in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giving them warning not to attempt the shoare a second time. So being night I wished them to goe aboord my ship to refresh themselves, and to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to Sea, but missed their ship which came the next day into the Road, and not understanding the newes, sent their long Boat towards the shoare, which the King of Maccasser perceiving, sent a number of Prowes which surprized her, and slue every man of them being sixteene in number.

Other kindnesses to the Hollanders: good seed sowne in ill ground.

The ninth of December, we set saile for Banda, with the Hollander in our Company, and being cleere of Maccasser, relieved them at their request with fresh water, and sold them two Quoines of Rice, with some few Hennes and racke, keeping company as farre as Amboyne. Hence we proceeded, and the three and twentieth of December, being neere Polaroone sent my Skiffe ashoare to understand the state of the Ilanders, who were glad of our comming, as beeing not able to hold out longer against the Hollanders oppression, keeping them from reliefe of Victuals.

The same day we came to anchor at Polaroone, the Orankayes came aboord, and I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract betweene them and the Hollanders: who certified me, there had beene none at all. Then according * to my Commission, I required them to surrender their Land to the Kings Majestie of England, which they presently did: and drew Articles of Trade and Conditions to be observed betwixt us; which being agreed on, we spread Saint George upon the Iland, and shot off most of our Ordnance.

** The Bandanezes had before this sent an Orancaia to the English, to intreat Trade with them, &c. See Captaine Elkington, p. 516.*

The five and twentieth of December, we saw a Holland ship comming from the West-wards, and forthwith upon Councell landed three Peeces of Ordnance out of the Swanne, and mounted them on a Cliffe fittest for that purpose, and made what haste wee could to fit a platforme for them. We landed three other Peeces of Ordnance,

Polaroone resigned to his Majestie. Fortifying there.

and mounted them on a point of Land which commanded the Road: thus fitted, I landed most of the goods and setled a Factory.

Three Holland ships to disturb the English.

Upon the third of January, there came three Flemmish ships into the Road, flourishing with their Trumpets and came to anchor by us. Wee fitted our shippes for fight, and I sent Master Muschamp aboord the Admirall, to certifie them of the surrender, as also to demand if they could lay any clayme to the said Land. They answered, no. I further offered them water or any thing the Iland affoorded; but they plainly told me, they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Countrey people would not suffer them to ride there under their noses; [I. v. 665.] and that they had beene doing, but I caused them to forbeare: and perceiving their intent to surprize us, and fearing they would lay us aboord in the night, I told them I could not stay the Countrey people any longer, if they were not gone before two Glasses were runne. They thereupon weighed and departed. The fourth, there came a Holland Boat and sounded all alongst the little Iland, at whom Master Hinchley shot from the Land, but hit her not, and they departed.

The Swan being delivered, Master Davis would goe water at Wayre, obstinately contrarying my command. I being then very sicke came aboord the Defence, and sent Sophonie aboord the Swan, which departed Jan. 18. I after had uncertaine newes, that the Hollanders had taken her and sent the Sewes over to Lantore to heare the newes, which brought word that the Swan was in Nero Road. On the seven and twentieth of Februarie, I sent Robert Hayes to the Hollander with a flagge of Truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their reason was, we came yeerly to make our voyage and lade our ships, and be gone; they had the brunt of the Warre, and wee came sneaking to doe them injurie. And further, they said, that the States of Holland and the Lords of the Councell should conferre of this businesse: and being demanded the manner of her taking, they said, Time should bring it

Master Sophonie Cozock. The Swan taken by the Dutch. See the manner of their unmannerlinesse in Spurway. Dutch peevishnesse.

forth. And further, threatned to fetch the Defence out of the Road. They asked what men wee had at Wayre and Rosinging, and said, they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, that the wrongs we offered them could no longer be indured, and that they would have one sent over to come to composition with them. Hereupon by councell it was agreed for the safetie of our ship, lives and goods, to land all our provisions on the small Iland, with most of the men to manage the Ordnance: which being subscribed by Corthop, Spurway, Hinchley, Hayes, Stacy, Helmore, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the ships companie would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship to death. The seventh of March, a Letter was brought from Nero, by a Hollander, with a flagge of Truce from Master Davis, part whereof I have transcribed: Master Corthop commendations, &c. The Admirall and the rest have settled their resolutions to have you off from Polaroone, according to their Commission, and I know, that unlesse you doe talke together, there will be much slaughter about it. For they are all double manned from their Castles, and must fight it out as I have proved alreadie. For they did shoote at me twice before I began, although I was in the Sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We fought almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and an halfe, untill they had killed five men, maymed three, and hurt eight. And when wee began we had not thirtie men able to doe any thing, nor no wind to worke withall &c.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes John Davis his Letter. This and other Letters I had whole, and have taken that which I thought most fit, leaving the rest: which are to be seene perfect in Master Cort. Journall. I had above 60. Letters belonging to this and Master Hayes Journall to peruse: some of which I here have from the originall transprinted.

I answered by a Letter to them, that we doubted of their Message and Letter, except they would send an English man, one of the ships companie, to notifie things unto us: that we heard they had murthered our men in cold bloud: and as they pretended commission to beat us off, we had commission to maintayne the Kings Majesties right of England. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordnance and Munition to the little Iland of Neylackey which

Neylackey a litle Iland by Polaroone fortified.

maketh the Road; and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would have beaten all our ships out of the Road, and have kept all reliefe from the great Iland, so that we must have beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a Hollander with Master Davies Boy and a Letter from him, to signifie, that after the Flagge was furled not one man was meddled with: Sophonie was the first man was torne in pieces with a great shot, &c. This Letter came with other Dutch Letters: but we now being almost readie for them, wrote them an absolute answere, that if we should come into their subjection as they desire, we should shew our selves no true subjects to his Majestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11.

The Defence betrayed by perfidious Knaves to the Hollanders. King, Christmas, Howres, Harris, Bridges, Rockwell, Carter, Taylor and Woodlocke. See what a Dutch prison will doe; together with lying pretences of the Hollanders and fugitives. The Devill was also a Lyer and Murtherer from the beginning. Thus did the Dutch with Generall Riall, Wry and all; I dare not say Lye all, in pretence of Commission and the King's Letter.

On the fourteenth it was concluded by councell, to bring ashoare our Provisions, and to bring the ship about, her Cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now having but two anchors to Sea-boord. But finding her leake and unlikely to be brought about, wee agreed to bring her ashoare under the Defences Fort. Master Hinchley, on the eighteenth came to an anchor neerer into the Bay, leaving aboord John King Boatson, with some twentie more. And on the twentieth in the morning, the ship was driven almost as farre as Lantore; which when they which were a sleepe in the ship perceived, and asked the reason, the King answered; Tell the Master I had the Watch, and being asleepe, the ship drove. Thus some went into the long boate, the rest which were compacted stayed behinde, and when the long boat was come away, they set their fore-course and went into Nero Roade, and delivered the ship to the Hollanders.

The first of Aprill 1617. the Flemmings sent over letters with a flagge of truce; one from Master Davis to urge a composition, advising very passionately, If I lose any more men by your arrogance, as here I have lost by sicknesse already, their lives and blouds shall rest upon your heads and your faction, and this I will write with dying hand, God give me leave: for what they doe or have done,

their Commission will beare them out in: and are contented to let the Law decide betweene our Masters and theirs, or will come to any reasonable matter of friendship, that no more bloud may be spilt on either side: For I plainely see how you carry it. You have caused the Master of the Defence, to land his peeces ashoare from his ship and make wracke of her * to drive up and downe. Is it in our hands to defend an army that have order for what they doe? He proceedeth to an invective, that they would defend trecherous Bandaneses, who are at Banda daily to make a peace with the Hollanders, that they may have time to cut your throats, &c.

*Take this as the fugitives and Hollanders reports. [I. v. 666.]

I made answer to the Hollanders, promising upon such two stayes to come and conferre, withall redemanding the Defence with her men and goods. Those pledges came not, but two others; and on the sixt went to Nero. Where the next day the generall and Councell offered mee restitution of ships, goods, men and all losses whatsoever, on condition that I should take off my Ordnance from Polaroon and Neylackey and leave the Iland: to which I answered, I could not unlesse I should turne Traitor unto my King and Countrey, in giving up that right which I am able to hold; and also betray the Countrey people, who had surrendered up their land to our Kings Majestie; but promised to conferre with my Councell and send him an absolute answer. I returned the eight, and sent him his pledges: The next day I called a Councell, shewed my Commission, where it was resolved to send word to Bantam, and a resolute answer to the Hollanders, that we could not give away the Kings right without treason; and to betray the Ilanders his subjects were both unchristian falshood, and unreasonable folly to incurre their fury. But if the Dutch would restore the Defence with men and goods, and helpe to convay them to Bantam, giving under their hands, that no attempt should be made against the two Ilands, till it be decided in England or Bantam, then &c. They returned the messenger to advise mee by writing, to consider of it, and send my full resolution in three

New proffers.

dayes, or else hee would bring all his forces and take us perforce. He not comming, we fitted a Praw to send newes to Bantam, and demand ayde, wherein went Master Spurway, Master Hinchley, Christopher the Flemmish fugitive, whom doubting, I gave order to leave at Maccasser. I wrote a letter of Occurrents to Bantam; signifying also the Dutch bravadoes (which they had made Master Davis beleeve) as that they had our Kings Letters to take any of us to the East of Celebes: He offered, * If they could shew such letters, he would give up all, or if they could shew any Surrender made to them by the Natives, or if they would carry us to Bantam, and not meddle till there, or in England, things bee decided: that the Hollanders are hated of all Nations in those parts: that they vaunt they have the Copies of the Companies Commission before any ships come forth: that no English Generall hath the Kings Commission: that they bring Letters from petty Kings (which are reputed as their slaves) as of Amboyna and Hetto, with the like: that if the Bandaneses will have their Countreyes in peace, they must submit themselves to the Hollanders, for that no Nation can compare with them: with request of supply the next winds: that he could have had all Lantore Ilands delivered him, but did not thinke it fit, having no goods nor victualls for them; which if it come, in two dayes will bee done, the small league they enter with the Hollander, being but to sustayne their hunger; all of them being agreed to have no other peace with them, &c.

Rialls threats.

**The Copie of the Letter for the length I durst not transcribe: a great part being the same that before you have read.*

**Reasonable offers made, if to reasonable men: but when conscience is removed from the hart to the hilt, and reason from the brain to the point of the Sword, Reason and Religion shall be no better dealt with then the English and Bandaneses here were. And note that the Hollanders can shew no right to the Ilands, but jus in armis.*

The fift of June, the Holland Generall Laurence Ryall, in a small ship, came within shot of our Fort, upon Neylackey, having heard by the Defence-fugitives, that most of our men would runne away, if they had opportunity: but he expecting them in the Skiffe, was welcomed from me with foureteene shot, that a man was not seene to trimme the sailes, but they bore up the helme and departed. I sent another Praw with advice for Bantam, lest the former might miscarry by Master Stacy, which departed the eight of July.

The foure and twentieth of December, we had newes that the men of Lantore had detayned seven Hollanders of their chiefe and their goods, killing one of them in the taking, the other ransomed for eighty five Bandaneses: and so the league was broken. The three and twentieth of February, I had newes that the Praw in which Master Stacy went, was cast away, and the King of Botton lent them another for Maccasser. The twelfth of March, we felt a terrible earthquake.

Fight of the Hollanders with the English, and taking two ships more, the Salomon and the Attendance, deepe laden with Rice, Clothes of divers kinds, &c. as appeareth by the Invoyce which I have seene of Master Balls hand.

The five and twentieth of March, 1618. we saw two of our ships about some five leagues from Polaroon comming from the Westwards, with the very last of the westerly windes, and as then being taken with an Easterly winde, which brought the foure Holland ships (these we had seene looking out from the twentieth day) up with them, the great Bantam, the Trow, the Star and the Swanne: These fought with them from two of the clocke till nine at night. The fight was in sight of Polaroon some three leagues off. And, at midnight came the Attendance Skiffe ashoare at Polaroon with foure and twenty Bandaneses, who told us of three ships, the Solomon the Thomas, and the Attendance; and how the Thomas had left them in the Streights of Desolam, and never was seene after; and that the ships could no longer endure the fight, because the Salomon, could not use her lower Teere, and their Powder was naught. The sixe and twentieth, we lost sight of all the ships, and in the nine and twentieth, all six came into Nero Road, where the Hollanders wore our Colours under their ships sternes in all disgracefull manner.

[I. v. 667.]

§. II.

The manner of taking the Salomon and Attendance, in divers Letters described, Dutch abusive devises by lyes to delude and dis-hearten our men: divers Extracts of Letters of Master Corthop, *with other Occurrents.

**In Master Corthops Journall are Copies of Letters sent by him or to him.*

THe first of Aprill, Robert Fuller brought newes from Lantore, that the Bandaneses were most of them slaine by the Hollanders (in taking the ships) and that they fezed the Hollanders twice over boord and slew many of them, but were oppressed with number. On the foureteenth, a Hollander with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from Master Cassarian David, Commander of the three ships aforesaid, in these words.

Pooloway, the fourteenth of April, 1618.

MAster Corthop, my love premised unto your selfe, and the rest of your good companie, I wish you all health and prosperitie. Having at this time (through the Generalls permission) gotten oportunitie to write unto you, I thought good to let you understand of that, which I thinke, you doe alreadie know too well, that is, of our being surprized by the Hollanders. The Generall and his Councell doe alleage, that these Ilands Pooloway and Pooloroan with the rest, is their right, as you have formerly heard them say, and that if any of the English came there for Trade, they have a Commission to make lawfull prize of them, and so late experience hath taught us here. For my part I cannot resolve the Generall of any determinate course, for want of your advice, but I wish you were all safe from thence.

False pretence of Commission.

It rests that you doe advise with the Merchants and the rest, residing with you, and (if you thinke good) write downe your determination, and send it me by this Bearer, that I may the better answere to the Generalls Proposi-

tions, which I cannot doe, till we understand each others mind, as for my consent it shall be grounded upon your knowledge and experience of the Iland, whether you bee able to keepe it, or bee willing to leave it.

Our ships, the Salomon and the Attendance, ride at Nero, and our men shared amongst the Dutch ships, being stripped out of all money and clothes. My selfe with one English Boy to attend me, remayne upon Pooloway, where the Generall and his Councell doe abide, at whose hands I doe daily find much favour and kind usage, though watched and looked unto as a prisoner. The Thomas, which was my Vice-Admirall, we lost in the Streights of Desalon, and by all judgement, shee is there cast away, yet we have no absolute certaintie thereof.

I would be glad to have your presence here for our better proceeding in the businesse, and the Generall is willing to send to Pooloroan a man of fashion to stay there as a pledge in your absence, but alwayes provided, that you enter into a condition with the Countrey people, that the said pledge have no wrong offered him in your absence, but as you shall returne in safetie to Pooloroan, so hee may returne in safetie to Pooloway againe; of this, I pray you, consider, &c. and conferre with the Orankayas, and send it me in writing by this Bearer, whether you may doe so or not: If you thinke good that it shall be so, faile not to advise me thereof, and the Boat shall come for you againe, and bring the Generalls pledge. And so I commit you to the safe tuition of the Almightie: And rest

Your ever loving Friend,

CASSARIAN DAVID.

Aboord the Trow in Nero Road, the twentie sixe of April, 1618.

MOst loving and kind friend, Master Nathaniel Corthop, I heartily salute you, and beseech God to send continuance of health unto you all there: Your Letters, yesterday being of us safely received here, ministred much

joy unto us all in middest of our lamentations for you, understanding thereby the Flemmings notorious lyes, who can doe little else, reporting you all to be in all manner of wants and miserie by the Bandaneses, against whom they are speedily bent to make an assault upon either Lantore or otherwise Polaroon (but I hope you mistrust the worst) with five hundred Souldiers at least, now they having here eight saile of ships of their owne, and within two or three dayes expect them.

Lies of English distresse.

[I. v. 668.] It pleased Master Geo. Barkley, the twentieth of Februarie, 1616. to send mee with Ric. Hunt, (who died at Bantam) upon the attendant to your selfe, but the Monson being spent wee could but fetch Maccassar, where I stayed but eleven moneths, in expectation of our Fleet for Banda, which was a hot one when it came (to incounter with such an Enemie) being but three ships, and the best of them run away afore-hand, I meane the Thomas, Master William Hakeridge leaving my selfe and his Mate Tatten, and Purser, with five more of his companie aboord the Salomon, and God knoweth what is become of them, which had we beene together, doubtlesse we had gelded them of their great Bantam, but being as we were so deepe ships, having upwards of two hundred quoynes of Rice, besides Arack six hundred Jarres, thirtie foure bales of cloth with other provisions, as never was Poolaroon so fitted, if it had pleased God, wee had all safely here arrived, for that wee were too too much over-matched by their great Forces.

Sicknesse at Bantam.

There hath beene this yeare a great mortalitie in Bantam, the chiefe Factors there, with Generall Pepwell and the rest kept the ships there so long, that there dyed above two hundred of our men there before their departure from thence.

French arrived at Bantam, and how welcomed by the Dutch.

The Frenchmen that arrived at Bantam, these Flemmings tooke their Dutchmen out of them perforce, to the overthrow of their Voyage, and for any farther matter not worthy the writing thereof.

Now to come to our selves, and our taking, the Bantam being neerest us, of the Flemmings foure ships, yet some

distance off, and the five and twentieth of March last past, about noone shot at us, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot all that afternoone, but our Powder was naught, and could not carrie the shot home, when theirs came over us, but never touched us to the setting of the Sunne, soone after the wind comming Easterly, we were in the middest of our foes, and being so much overmatched, were by them surprized and taken, but the Bandanezes eight of them fought very valiantly, and killed the Flemmings, three men out-right, and hurt them three more: but the tall man of Pooloway, and another little man with him, played their parts excellently, for they drove the Flemmings over-boord, by fortie at once; some up into the foure shrouds, some one way, and some another, that they had scoured the Deckes of them all. I thinke if the Bandanezes had had them upon plaine ground, they would have put the Flemmings to the sword every man of them, for that they were exceedingly feare-full to deale with them, but by their Boats and subtiltie, they killed the Bandanezes, and tooke seven or eight Boyes prisoners, whereof one or two of them is runne away and escaped from hence out of their hands, and I hope got safely to you there by this time. Now, after that wee came to a parley with the Flemmings, they killed us three men basely, both against the Law of Armes and all good manners besides bringing us afterwards to Nero, where they made pillage (by the Dutch Generall his order) of all that we had, keeping our men in Irons, these Flemmings being so close in all their doings, that their owne Skippers cannot know their determination; and yet their Generall is bound with them in companie, or else I thinke little would be by them performed, what I can I will advise you, though I cannot perswade you, but I beseech God blesse you, and all with you.

Brave spirits of the Bandanezes.

Base dealing of Brutish Dutch.

Master Cassarian David is kept by the Dutch Generall at Pooloway, being sent by the chiefe Factor and counsell at Bantam, Cape Merchant of the Fleet upon the Salomon, and my selfe his second upon the Thomas, consigned

all by Commission unto your selfe, and is referred to your appointment. The first present I writ Master Cassarian at Pooloway, advising him to acquaint you with all Occurrences what hath passed, that you might not be ignorant of any thing, nor frustrate your hopes in expectation of what now cannot be, I say, the more to blame them at Bantam, so carlesly to keepe these ships there so long, unto the eight of Januarie, last before, they sent them away from thence, which hath brought upon us all this miserie. The shippes arrived at Maccassar the second of February last, and through extremitie of foule weather it was the seventh of March, before we could set saile from thence. I pray you returne my hearty commendations unto Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Thomas Foord, with all the rest of our loving friends, there likewise Master Lane, Master Churchman, Master Kellum, and Thomas Fowle, commend themselves heartily unto you all, I cannot yet heare from Master Cassarian, I thinke hereafter we shall goe for Amboyna, where Master Davis is and twentie men more, the rest are at Ternate, I pray you excuse my not formerly writing to you, because I doubted the deliverie, and thus much at present shall for this time suffice, and with my kindest commendations unto your selfe, I beseech God to keepe you out of the hands of all your enemies, and make our meeting joyfull to each other, and so in haste I rest,

Want of conveyance maketh a long passage.

Your ever loving friend here now Prisoners, Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane, Bartholomew Churchman and the rest.

This was a Lie, for it arrived safe at Poolaroone.

These Flemmings report that the day after we were taken, their other three ships tooke up the Attendants Skiffe, halfe full of bloudy water, and thinke those Bandanezes that went away in the Skiffe, killed one another; and got not to Poolaroone. Wherefore in your next, I pray you write the certaintie of it, likewise, they report that our men did not runne away with the Defence, but

would have carryed her for Ceyran, but that the Flemmings manned out two of their long Boats, and tooke the Defence, and brought her into Nero.

Pro idem GEO. JACKSON.

A Letter from Master Lane Master of the Salomon. From aboord the Trow of Amsterdam, in Nero Road the twelfth of Aprill.

[I. v. 669.]

LOving Friend Master Nathaniell Corthop, I heartily salute, these are to certifie you, the seventh of March we departed out of Macasser Road, with the Salomon, the Thomas and the Attendance, Master Cassarian Davis being our chiefe Commander of all the ships, the thirteenth of the same moneth, being neere the Streights of Saler, we lost company of the Thomas, which wee never heard of since all of us being bound directly for Poolaroone: the five and twentieth of the same moneth, beeing breake of the day, the Salomon and the Attendance beeing within foure or five leagues of Poolaroone, we saw foure sayles of Dutch ships, three of them being to the Easterne of us, the other being their Admirall, was neere unto the Iland of Poolaroone, that day beeing calme with little wind Easterly, wee towed with our Boats and made the best meanes we could to get the Iland, the Dutch ships having the wind of us, bore with us at two a clocke in the afternoone, the great Bantam Vice-Admirall got within shot of us, and plyed her best to us, and we requited her to our power at foure a clocke; the Starre which tooke the Swanne, and the Swanne likewise got within shot of us, at eight a clocke at night. The Admirall got within a ships length of us, and plyed their great Ordnance upon us, killing three men, and hurt thirteene or fourteene men, but would not boord us, commanding the chiefe of us to come aboord their Admirall, and to strike downe our Sayles, and to take in our Flagge, which Master Cassarian caused to be done, and commanding the Skiffe to be manned to goe aboord of them, and likewise Master Jack-

son, in another Boat to goe aboord another of them, they being there, I could heare no answere from any of them, the Dutch having our two Boates aboord with our chiefe Commander, send their foure large Boats full of men, to the number of one hundred and fortie, or one hundred and fiftie men to keepe our ships, and to take the Bandaneses which they killed, the Arankayes to the number of twelve of them, the rest they saved alive, and carry them ashoare to Nero, for Master Cassarian hee is and hath beene at Pooloway since we came in here, but for my part with my Mate Churchman, and Master Jackson, with thirteene men more, are aboord of the Trow in Irons; but we three, for Master Villes which was Master of the Attendance, he is aboord the Starre with many of his men, for the rest of our men they are aboord the Bantam, and the Swanne not suffered to goe to one another, but lye and fare more like slaves then men, which I thinke will kill many of us. For our things they have taken away all that every man had to their clothes of their backes; Sir, I understand, that your wants are great at the Iland, and that the Countrey people have got the Castles from you, and that within short time they meane to send you all over here unto the hands of the Dutch, which I wish you could rather get for Macasser, then to come in their hands. The Dutch hath no ships at Buttone, three ships they have now in the offing, or at Amboyna five ships, they have heard if, the three ships get in here, they purpose to come all for Poolaroone, otherwise I thinke not this yeare, yet I heare within this seven or eight dayes, the old Horne a ship of seven or eight hundred tunnes, with the small Gally and other Boats are to come for Poolaroone, where they understand that the small Castle shall be delivered up unto the Dutch, for the rest of their ships that be here, I heard within this three weekes they are to goe for Amboyna. Sir, I have saved these two Letters which Captaine Ball delivered me for you, which I used the best meanes I could to save them for you, and to send them to you with the best meanes I could to save them for you, and to send them to you with

Dutch crueltie.

Lye-devices.

the best meanes I could use, which I desire you may receive, and to send me answere how all businesse standeth with you in this case, and I will be glad to pay the Coat off my backe to the bearer for an answere, other Letters we have for you and the rest of your company on the Iland, which if I can shall be sent you.

Sir, the Salomon was deepe layd with Rice, the Thomas laded with Rice and Racke, and other provision, the Attendance laded with Rice, Fish and Racke and other provision. Thus with my love unto you with the rest of your company, I cease, beseeching God to blesse you in your proceedings, and deliver us out of the hands of these Tyrants, and send us all a joyfull meeting.

Your Friend to his poore power to command,

JACOB LANE.

Sir, the Generall of the Dutch had given expresse authoritie unto the Commanders of those ships, that if they meet us, either to sinke or burne us before wee should recover the Iland, or else he would hang them that should be the occasion.

Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway, July the fifteenth, 1618. [I. v. 670.]

The Copie of a piece of M. Jacksons Letter to M. Ball from the Prison in Pooloway Castle, July 15. 1618.

HOwsoever William Hakeridge hath dealt with me, yet I rest much bound to your selfe for your love to me, that thought so well on me, whose thankefulnesse should undoubtedly have turned to your credit, had it not beene by these arrogant theevish Flemmings, and Master Hakeridge: otherwise prevented, which mischiefe grew from a Molajo Letter, written by a Flemming Whore in Maccasser, and sent in a Trunke to Amboyna, advising of our comming: otherwise wee had beene at our Port before that the Flemmings had heard of us. Hereupon the Flemmings layed waight for us, with foure of their best ships of Warre, and three more readie to second them if need required. Now the Thomas being lost out of our

Company: we plyed our Voyage with the Salomon, and the Attendant sayling to the South-ward of the shoalds that are off a Buttone. And the five and twentieth of March last, by day breake we had sight of Polaroone, about five leagues off, presently upon this we descryed three sayle of Flemmings to the North-ward, and one to the East-ward, to say, the Bantam, the Trow, the Swanne, and the Starre that tooke the Swanne, which of these shippes the Bantam came somewhat neere us about noone, and had we here had the Thomas in our Company, wee had surely Gelded them of their great Bantam for that ship was some distance from her Consorts, and seeing our weaknesse, began fight and shot at us, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot, but our Powder was naught and could not carry the shot home, when the Flemmings shot over us, thus wee continued but no hurt done of eyther side to the setting of the Sunne, for that we were some distance off, and being sent to too late: the Monson fayles us, the wind comming now Easterly, and in the night brought our enemies round about us, at which time of being sent by Master Cassarian aboord their Vice-Admirall. The Bantam to know their intent which was according to their protest made at Bantam against us, then the Trow their Admirall very basely shot the Salomon twice thorough and thorough, killed there foure men, and hurt us ten men more, thus were we by the Flemmings surprized, taken Prisoners, and pillaged; who kept us first in their ships at Nero, and now close Prisoners in Pooloway Castle ten of us, the rest are carryed for Amboyna, and the Moluccas.

Perfidious Dutch.

Now if our three ships had beene sent sooner, we had not onely arrived safely at Polaroone with two hundred and fiftie Quiens of Rice, for that I know there was no lesse provided in Maccasser, but also we had gained the whole commoditie of Nuts and Mace, with both Countrey of Banda, and people likewise; and the Flemmings could not have bought two hundred Suckles of Mace whereas now they have bought at least two hundred Tunnes. The neglect of which thus much importeth, though it

prove not the losse of both commoditie and Countrey hereafter.

The five and twentieth of May last, the Flemmings marched with seven hundred and fiftie Souldiers against Lantore, but the Bandanezes gave them such a repulse, killing them foure men, and hurt them sixteene more, that the Flemmings came off againe, and never beate their Drumme. The Dutch Generall would not be intreated of us to shew us any kindnesse, neyther would he ransome us for any money, it may be that he thinketh the English will take so many of his men, and so ransome one man for another.

Thus not willing to be over tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our misery, and doe what may be for our Releasement.

Your ever loving Friend to command,

Pooloway, the 18. of September.

GEORGE JACKSON.

I sent an answere offering upon pledges to come over to Pooloway, in the Vessell which they should come in.

The seventeenth of Aprill, the Orrenkayes of Lantore came over to me to conferre about keeping the Iland another yeare, which they promised to keepe out the Hollander from trading with them, onely relying upon our Forces the next yeare. Wee agreed to hold it out till the next yeare. The eighteenth, by a Praw that went to Bottoone, I sent a Letter for Bantam, to be conveyed by that King to our Factorie at Maccasser, signifying the taking of these ships, the unadvisednesse in sending them so unseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in) neither was there above halfe a day of Westerly winds to bring them to Nero, that many poore men were slaine, maymed, or held in slaverie worse then Turkish slaves; and had not foure or five Java Junckes come in, for want of victuals we must also have given up, and still live on Rice only with a little fish, which in foule weather is not

M. Courthops Letter to M. Ball.

to be had; daily expecting an assault from the Hollanders, and wish it not so much able to stand out, as willing to make them pay deare, &c. He sent another also for refreshment to the Factor at Maccasser.

The twentieth of Aprill, we were advertized that within two dayes the Hollanders would assaile us, but they came not. The thirtieth, they trayned their men, about seven hundred. I sent another Letter to Master Ball (where, in relating the fight these words are used.) The Attendance before they yeelded gave the Bandanezes their small Boat; so they escaped to Poolaroone. But the Salomon was so belayd that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. Master Cassarian yeelded in that manner that if I had beene in his place, before I would have done it, I would have sunke downe * right in the Sea. That was in this manner: After they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost boord and boord, the Dutch called unto him to take in his Colours, strike his sayles and come himselfe aboord, which all hee did, they detayned him and his Boat. So our men in the ship played a good and wise part likewise: for they perceiving their Commander kept aboord the Dutch shippes, went and got the Bandanezes Swords, and hid them from them: only two of them kept their Swords privately: nineteene had no weapons, and stowed themselves in the ship, and some eight or ten of them with their Creezes and two Swords, at the Hollanders entring of our ship killed the Hollanders at least forty of them, and hurt divers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entring our men kept themselves in the forecastle apart, whilest the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken, the Hollanders killed some twelve, and saved seven of the youngest. So farre as can I perceive, they neither respect right or justice, but stand altogether upon force of Armes. I have but thirtie eight men to withstand their force and tyranny, our wants extreme: neither have wee victuals or drinke but only Rice and water, they have at present eight ships here and two Gallies, and to

[I. v. 671.]

*Thus he did fore-tell his owne death in the cause and manner.

my knowledge all fitted to come against us. I looke daily and howerly for them, &c. He signified also both to him and in a Letter to the Factor at Maccasser, that he had not, since first hee came into these Ilands, received one Letter or advise from any English.

In a Letter from Master Lane to M. Courthop, is written that he had sent away the Bandanezes, but one Richard Tawton Masters Mate of the Thomas would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch severitie: and that they seeing no remedie, shot William Shoply, after Master, and cut the eare off of the Gunners Mate neere off; another they ranne thorow the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords. The seventh of May, the Salomon went from Nero laden. The five and twentieth, the Hollanders gave an assault on Lantore landing eight companies of Souldiers, contayning about five hundred men, but were repulsed with losse of foure of theirs and one Bandaneze. The two and twentieth, for further certaintie I sent another Letter to Master Ball.

The eight and twentieth of June, I had a Letter sent mee from Master Cassarian David, wherein he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment, if I came not to better consideration: which I answered, refelling the Hollanders lyes touching the Attendants Boat taken up by them with bloud; and another, that I should send the Generall a Letter to surrender the small Iland; and that I have but ten English here: also that the Blackes had possession of my Ordenance, &c.

Dutch lyes to scarre the Engglish, and sawce their imprisonment.

The last of June, Master Balls Letter was sent me by Master Lane, which is as followeth.

MAster Courthop, my heartie commendations to you, and all the rest of your companie, with my prayers for your health, and happinesse, &c. Yours of the eleventh of Aprill, by Master Thomas Spurway, and the thirtieth of June, by Master Stacy, I received understanding thereby of the Occurrences happened in Banda, which, albeit in many things contrary to our expectation, yet as

now not to be avoyded, nor by any faire course hoped to have it amended, was it to be doubted that surrender being made to his Majestie of England, of those places, and his subjects in possession, that in so apparant and just cause; the Flemmings durst have fallen out into open Hostilitie with us, in taking the Swan, and making themselves Owners of the Defence, with the imprisonment of our men, but now we have too manifest a proofe of their insolencie, and that they dare doe any thing, that is not above their force, and make the best shew of a bad meaning.

They pretend contracts with the King of Ternate, for defence of his Countries, and with his subjects for their Spices, and all Trade whatsoever, even to the exclusion of all other Nations, Justice is too weake to deale with force, and consequently, no pleading with them without force, which I hoped wee should have beene able this yeare to have effected, albeit that it fals out to the contrary, but the next I doubt not, but we shall have force to make them know, that free gift and possession is better then contracts, and that they are not to conquer Countries to themselves, under pretence of defending the King of Ternate, being to them in nature of a Prisoner; that are in no command of him, in the meane time our indeavour must be: for the right of our King and honour of our Countrey, to make good what wee have; Master Spurway in his returne was charged into Botone by the Flemmings, and so belaid for, that had not the King of that place stood his very good friend, hee, and his companie had fallen into their hands: but by this meanes while the Flemmings waited before the mouth of the River for their comming out, they were conveyed over a necke of Land,
[I. v. 672.] and so escaped for Maccasser, where meeting the Attendance they tooke passage, and came hither, Stacie that Owle, blind in his selfe will, cast away his Praw upon Botone, the goods all lost, the men only saved, where he left the Bandanezes, who chose to stay there, in hope to save something for themselves: and by the Kings favour got

a Praw, and came thither by the way of Maccasser, all the Billes of exchange, only the hundred Rials of Peter van Loare: I payd also the Honourable our Imployers, lose one quarter thereby, the Cattee of Mace taken there at a Riall, worth here not three quarters of a Riall, and for him the said van Loare, as he came to you an espie in that place, so at his best oportunitie hee left us here; leaving, though very loth, his money behind him.

Captaine Jordane departed hence in the Clove for England, Christmasse last a yeare, and Captaine Barkley our Chiefe, departed this life the first of March past: here arrived the Fleet of Captaine Joseph, but not himselfe, being slaine about the Ilands of Comora, in fight with a Carracke; who having no meanes to escape, ranne ashoare and fired, there was in her besides goods of divers Fabriques, three and twentie hundred thousand pieces of eight, a prettie Cargazon, and would have done well in our Factories, but it is fallen out, a lasse, to the Portugals, and no gaine unto us, neither in purse nor credit, as you may understand by others.

It is given us to understand, by Letters from our Honourable Imployers of a second joynt Stocke, subscribed for twentie hundred thousand pounds; It began the first of this yeare, the first joynt Stocke ended in the Fleet of Captaine Pring, consisting of seven shippes, whereof two, to say, the Hope, and Hound came directly hither, the other five went by, by off Surat, I pray God to blesse them, and that performing effectually there, they may arrive hither in safety, the Governour of the Flemmings hath beene here, but we conferred not together, the cause proceding of pride in them, and no submission in me: but to be short, as they began, which you see they have continued unto us in Hostile manner. The sixe and twentieth of November, the Speed-well, Robert Jackson Master, bound for Jacatra, was taken, and the men all (but one that was slaine in the entring her, and one that is since dead) are in Chaines, the Governour after the taking of this Pinnasse came with sixteene ships into Bantam

Road, to brave us which we were content to suffer, in respect of their too much advantage. And now you may understand I have dispeeded these two ships, the Salomon and Thomas for Maccasser, to lade Rice alreadie provided for them, with a good Cargazon of goods, besides of cloth, of divers sorts for Banda, according to the Invoyce here inclosed sent you, whereof not doubting your care and diligence for Sales and Returnes, I omit in that respect to insert to your memory. For other Newes and Occurrents here passed since your departure, I commend you unto the Bearers hereof, and so for this time, I commit you to the might and mercifull protection of the Almightie.

Bantam, the seventh of January, 1617.

Your ever loving Friend,

GEO. BALL.

The seventh of July, I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore, to view the Road, what convenient place our ships might ride in, free from shot of Nero Castle, and what place wee might plant Ordnance to defend our ships, and endamage the Hollanders, which returned with a draught of the Roads there, on the eighteenth. The two and twentieth, I wrote againe by a Java Juncke to Master Ball (touching the taking of the ships, the Hollanders proud wearing our colours at their sterne, and a long time never ceasing shooting day nor night, as though they had taken halfe the goods in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five ships set saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, and send me some flying Messengers to know how I did: but like a bragging, lying, &c.

The second of August, I sent Master Muschamp in a Banda Praw, with the Sabandar of Pooloway and Inche Tungull, to give intelligence at Bantam: by whom I writ touching the intollerable pride and tyrannie, that the Hollander useth in these parts upon us both, in bodies, and

name, and that with a good conscience we may proceed in regard of the great outrage and infamie they have offered us in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King and Nation, and in their barbarous tyrannie they have used to our weake forces, being captivated by them: having written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

The thirteenth of August, there came fifteene Portugals borne at Goa, which had beene surprized by the Hollanders, from Nero in a Praw, and I gave them entertaynment. The fifteenth, I received a Letter from Master Cassarian David, in the name of the English at Pooloway, urging to right what was amisse, * and to call conscience to the Barre (words shewing what a hard imprisonment and faire glosses may doe with impotent and impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason, and sending them reliefe. I received also a Letter from Master Willes, as followeth.

*M. Courthops magnanimous mind is not more seene in withstanding the Hollanders wrongs, then in bearing the impatience of his Countreymen impotently urging right.

From Pooloway, the fifteenth of August, 1618. [I. v. 673.]

LOving Friend, Master Courthop my love remembred to you and to all the rest of our good friends, &c. Master Courthop, the urgent occasion at this present is to let you understand, about sending the Blackes ashore was this, first about ten of the clocke the same day, we being chased by three sayle, for my part I went aboord of the Salomon, to see what they were minded to doe. Master Cassarian willed me presently to goe aboord againe, and to be readie to defend our selves, and to keepe faire by him, which indeed I did, and also I could have gone from them at first sight if I would, but I could not have gotten the Iland if I had gone at ten of the clocke at night, we were faire by the Flemmings, the Salomon beeing within call of us. The Blackes that were in the Salomon, were got into the ships Boate for to goe ashoare, then was I called to to have our Blacks, for to make themselves readie to goe with them, which I did, and looking when the Salomons Boate would come, thinking they had beene

gone. I gave them our small Boate to carry them: and for my part faine would I have sent you a Letter or some other thing, but being at that time so employed, that I had not time to do as I would: Faine would I have writ more at large, but that time will not permit. So I rest, praying to the Almightie to blesse you to in all your affaires. Yours to command, I pray commend mee to Master Jones. Use to his power the Chirurgion,

MATTHEW WILLES.

LOving and kind Friend, Master Courthop, heartie commendations unto you and the rest of your good company, with all health & prosperity to you in all Affaires: for to relate of our crosse Voyage and misfortunes, it is no newes. But I hope to see the proudest of them pulled downe one day, although we indure the miserie of it in the mean time: I am glad to heare of your good prosperitie and wel-fare; the which, I much doubted, long since of your wants: but God will provide for his Servants, although he gives these Horse-turds leave to domineere awhile, whosoever lives will see their Pride abated. I must needs say they doe use us well. For I doe not know to compare it neerer then to Ludgate, or Newgate: not an inch libertie nor allowance more, then the worst Prisoner they have in keeping, which was commanded at the receite of your last Letter to the Generall, in the which case I wish you were able to doe us any good: but in the mean time I hope God will provide for us. There is this yeere to come to Bantam the best fleet of ships that ever came out of England, one Martine Friend is Generall. The Horse-turd that tooke us was at the Cape with them, in all five ships: the Royall James a new ship Admirall, the Ball Vice-admirall, the Gift reare-Admirall, with two ships more which went to Surat: wee had the last yeare eleven ships at Bantam, but the reason of no more comming this way, as I heare was by Master Lucas his comming from the coast, and setting Captaine Ball and Captaine Pepwell together by the eares: because

Lucas must have a ship to goe home: for afore Lucas came Captaine Pepwell was minded to come this way, but time will not permit to write any more, so in haste I take my leave.

I had a Box of stones of yours which I did imploy for your use in Rice. Some of them, and the Remaynder I brought backe, but all is lost: for I had some necessaries for you, as linnen and some clothes, but all is gone, and not able to helpe my selfe: you shall receive a Letter from Captaine Ball, which I got out of the Salomon after she was taken, but it was opened. I pray commend mee to Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Master Ford, Thomas Miller.

Yours to my power,
KELLUM THROGMORTON.

The nineteenth, Master David sent me a Letter from Master Ball, bearing date the sixe and twentieth of January, expressing his cares and endevours for furthering the Banda businesse; that it falleth out so late in the yeare before I send unto you hath beene caused through discord betwixt Captaine P. and my selfe, who of himselfe weake and extreame covetous, and instigated by his proud and insolent Masters, did obstinately insist to crosse our Designes, thinking to bring us under his command. If this Captaine and his Masters had beene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to have made further tryall of these Flemmings, that threaten fire and sword; but have sent only two or three shippes that are worst able to hold out; which if not catched up by the Flemming, will be sufficient. But if taken, the losse will be the lesse unto us. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Porke, or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these newcome ships, how much it doth grieve us, that wee are able to doe no better, &c.

Disagreement of the English, advantagious to the Dutch: I had the whole Letter, which being long I have expressed this onely.

The Commander Captaine Derickson used the English Prisoners with some kindnesse, and more would, but for Rials strict command: him therefore I did write unto, with

Some of the Dutch kind to the English.

thankes, &c. who also passed on the three and twentieth of August, by the Iland of Neylackey, and strooke his mayne top-saile; and there was shot in kindnesse betwixt us on either part some five or sixe Peeces; he going for the Moluccas. The six and twentieth, the Hollanders Frigat fetching water at Salamon, were beset by Lantore men, one killed and divers hurt, and had beene all taken but for discovery by Salamon men.

[I. v. 674.] *Dericksons kindnesse.*

The Captaine his kindnesse, to the English.

The tenth of September, I sent William Newbegin with supply of two Goates twelve Hens, Mackerell, Oranges, and other trifles to the English at Pooloway. The Messenger returned with a Letter from Master Cassarian David, commending the usage of the Captaine since the departure of the Commander, in what he might be bold without offending orders prescribed unto him, that the Salomon and Thomas were sent away with goods and victuals, and one and twentie dayes after the Attendance, wherein I was to shape my course directly for Poolaroone: but by reason the Salomon and Thomas both ware their flagges in the mayne-top, and that in sight, in going out of the Road of Bantam, the President thinking it done in pride by the two Ship-masters, as also shaping a forbidden course for water at Pontang: therefore it was decreed that I should first goe to Maccasser, there to take the government of the three ships and dispose them after the order of a Fleet. If it had not beene for striving for authoritie betweene Captaine P. and Captaine B. You should have beene visited last yeare with the Charles and the Unicorne, and other good ships. But multitude of Commanders maketh a confused government, which is the only cause of ours, and your faring the worse this yeare, &c.

English dissentions & vanity.

Here followeth also a Letter from the English at Amboyna, to Master David.

CAptaine, I heartily commend me unto you and to our Master and his Mate, and all the rest of the Companie, this is to let you understand, that I am in good health, and all the rest of our Company, only Andrew

Keele and Thomas Sweet is dead, but all the rest are in good health, but used very basely: for we are kept in Irons night and day, and if we have not a Releasement the sooner, I thinke it will make an end of us all. I marvell much we could not heare from you by the Frigat, which made me the more forgetfull to write unto you. No more at this time, but the Lord have you in his keeping. From Amboyna, this third of October, 1618.

Your Friend to command to his power,
RICHARD NASH.

Petitions of the English Prisoners to the Dutch Generall cruelly rejected.

I received Copies of certaine notes, The first a petition of the English for shift of clothes and to be freed of Irons in the day time; which was in some sort granted. The second, that each man might come before the Generall to speake for his libertie, which would not be granted. The third, that the Dutch Generall might give us an old ship, Pinnasse or Praw to carrie us to Bantam; or that hee would set a ransome on the English Prisoners, which he would neither grant nor heare of; but answered, that he would keepe us Prisoners so long as any English were upon Poolaroone. The seventh of June we were sent for Pooloway. The fourth humble petition of the Prisoners in Nero Road. The fourth of June, 1618. Humbly shewing unto your good Lordship, that whereas your Lordships poore Petitioners and Prisoners, being altogether doubtfull of any speedie Releasement, and desirous to avoyd the dangers of sicknesse and mortalitie, incident to all men in these unwholsome Countries, do therefore beseech your Lordship, that it may stand with your Lordships pleasure to grant unto your Lordships said Petitioners, license & favour to go for Holland this yeare in your Lordships ships. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall doe our best endevours to doe your Lordships service in our passage, wishing there may be a good end of all these differences; and thus hoping of your Lordships favourable charitie herein towards us poore Prisoners; we will pray for the prosperous successe of

your Lordships Affaires. The Petition would bee granted. The fifth, on the second of July, Humbly sheweth unto your Lordship, that we poore Prisoners now in this Castle of Pooloway, doe petition unto your Lordship, that we may be allowed such victuals as may sustaine our bodies without famishment, and that your Lordship will be pleased to spare us money to buy such things as are needfull for us: for our clothing at this time is but very bare. Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take some course for us before your Lordships departure from hence. Likewise we beseech your Lordship, that we may be suffered to walke abroad at severall times, as your Lordship shall be pleased to give order. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall pray for the good successe of your Lordships Affaires. Which would not be granted.

[I. v. 675.]

§ III.

Other Acts of the Hollanders in divers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir Thomas Dale, Master Jordan and others, and various events in those parts till his death.

THe seven and twentieth of September, I sent Robert Hayes with a white flagge to visit the English Prisoners, and to carrie such refreshment as Poolaroone affoordeth, who being kindly used by the Hollanders, returned that night. The eight and twentieth of October, I likewise sent Arthur Atkinson to Pooloway with refreshing. The tenth of November, the Hollanders made an ambushment ashoare at Oretaton, but caught one slave only whom they cut to pieces. The thirteenth of December, heere arrived a Keydupa Prow laden with Coco Nuts: she brought newes that the Thomas was gone for the Moluccas.

Newes of the Thomas.

The fourteenth of January, I had provisions from Lantore, with Abraham that went with Master Mustian for Maccasser, who by the unskilfulnesse of the Pilot fell with Rosinging an Iland sixe leagues to lee-wards to our great

troubles, to fetch provision in small Boats hither. He brought divers Letters, one from Master Staverton, in which is mention of the Hollanders, that through their brutish usage and rapine, taking of Junckes of all places, they have excluded themselves all Java, and the Rice Countries, except where they hold by force: for Bantam, Jacatra, and Japara, I referre you to the Presidents Letter.

M. Stavertons Letter.

The two and twentieth of November last, here came three of their great ships braving, to this place, and first came to an anchor off Tennacooke Castle, without shewing any Colours. And at night, it being faire Moone light, they came neerer into the Road: and one of them went the road under the Iland under point Jantava. And in the morning, they commanded two Java Junckes of Jacatra, having in them some fiftie Quoine of Rice, and by the Java Nochoda, sent a Letter ashoare to the King, and great men of Maccasser, pretending Debts and required satisfaction for their mens lives murthered two yeares since, which they would ballance with so many lives of men of qualitie at Maccasser. The King sent an answere, what I know not, and they writ againe, but hee answered not. They burnt one of the Java Junckes, and on the sixe and twentieth, set sayle as we conjecture for Amboyna. The last yeare I wrote what provision I laded on the ship Salomon, one hundred and one Quoyne, three hundred seventie seven g. of Rice: on the Thomas seventie five q. eightie foure g. On the Attendance sixteene q. five hundred seventie sixe g. (one hundred ninetie three q. two hundred thirtie seven g.) eight hundred sixtie five Jarres of Aracke, most upon the Thomas: also sundry other provisions divided upon the ships, which with Racke and Rice amounted to three thousand nine hundred and sixteene Mas. What provision was laden from Bantam and Jacatra,* I know not, &c. The last yeare happened great mortalitie; there dyed out of the Hope, Captaine Newport that worthy Seaman and Commander, also Henry Ravens Master, and fortie more of that shippes company. Out of the James, Captaine Childe, &c.

The goods in the ships which the Dutch took.

**But for prolixitie I had added the Invoyce of goods from thence which I had written by M. Ball.*

Death of many; of Captain Newport.

Spaniards and Portugals at Jortan, kill M. Jackson.

He sent to me Master Balls Letter to him wherein is relation of Master Jacksons losse with Juncke, goods and slaves, except three which saved themselves by swimming, as by writing from his Father appeareth. For wanting Rice and necessaries he put into Jortan to the number of three and twentie, under colour of bringing provisions aboord, entred the Juncke, and killed him and all his company but three which lept over-board, and carried the Juncke away: the rest of the Port remayning ashoare are Prisoners to the King to answere for their fellowes. The Flemmings landed at Japara by night, fired the Towne, and seven or eight Junckes in the road. The people fled to the Mountaines, they have forcibly built a Fort upon the mayne at Jacatra, and another upon the Ilands over against the watring place, which makes the Pangram of Bantam, looke about him.

Japara spoyled. Jacatra abused. Bantam frighted.

The seven and twentieth of January, here arrived a small Pinnasse called the Francis, with advice from the Fleet and reliefe, Master Robert Jackson, Master.

Sir Thomas Dales Letter, as followeth.

MAster Courthop, as unknowne I remember my love, which I will alwayes be readie to expresse, in respect of your worthy service, for the honour of our Countrey, and benefit of our Honourable Employers: and doe desire you to proceed in your good resolution, with the rest of your honest Companie; nothing doubting but that the Company will recompence your deserts to the full. I have sent you by this Bearer, only to supply your present wants; the particulars are enclosed in the Presidents Letter: and will, if God spare me life, shortly follow; my stay being only, to revenge in part the abuses received from them, having now an oportunitie by a difference betwixt them & the King of Jacatra, to put them from thence, if God give the blessing, which I intend forth-with to put in execution: If it shall please God to give good [I. v. 676.] successe, I shall leave all safe behind me, and may proceed with the better resolution: if otherwise, yet I must adven-

ture forward to affront them there, although I leave an ill Neighbour behind me. I have already given them a taste of twelve hundred great shot from six of our ships within the space of foure houres, betweene Bantam and Jacatra: which they did so much mislike, that they left us in the plaine field, and fled before us to the east-wards thorow the Bay of Jacatra, in sight of their Castle Reall. For other newes I referre you to the Presidents Letter, not doubting but that he hath satisfied you at large. And thus with my best wishes for your health and safetie. I take my leave untill I come. Remayning your assured Friend,

THO. DALE.

The Presidents Letters.

MAster Nathaniel Courthop, we heartily salute you with the rest, wee have thought it good at present to send you this small Pinnasse, the Little Francis, as an Adviser with such provisions as she is able to carrie, thereby to comfort you and your Company in the interim, not doubting but as you have begun, so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place: when you are also to incourage the Countrey people of Pooloway, Poolaroone and Lantore, and for the better satisfaction of the Countrey people we have sent in the Pinnasse one or two of the Bandanezes; to relate unto them the just wars that we have with the Dutch. For shortly after our arrivall at Bantam, the two and twentieth of November, with five ships, wherein is Admirall for the Sea, Sir Thomas Dale Knight, wee understanding so many injuries and insolencies done to our Nation, aswell in those parts as in all other places of the India, we tooke one of their ships called the Red Lion, laden with Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities. Whereupon out of their great pride they imprisoned two of our Merchants at Jacatra, and chayned them in their Gate-house, to the view of all the Countrey people. And not content herewith, their house being strong fortified with much Ordnance in it, shot at our Goodoung, and set fire to it and burnt it to the ground:

as also they shot into the Java quarter into the Kings house, and killed many Javas, and razed the China quarter to the ground with their Ordnance, and with fire. And the King hath shot some Ordnance against their house or Fort, and hath had many skirmishes with them, so that of both sides there hath beene slaughter, but most of the Javas. Now the King of Jacatra seeing himselfe in a straite, sent a Messenger to Bantam, desiring ayde of us. And calling here a Councell, concluded to send a fleet of eleven Sayle of ships, wherein goeth Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Pring Commanders, not only to surprize their ships, but also to destroy their Fort, if it please God to give a blessing thereunto. Which being once effected, by Gods grace, we determine to proceed for Banda and the Moluccas, hoping in God that we shall be able to lay some part of their insolent pride. If not altogether this yeare, yet the next we expect a farre greater fleet thereby at once to finish all. And whereas the proud Laurence Reall (the Dutch Generall that was) hath falsely reported that he hath Letters Patents from his Majestie of England to surprize us in those parts of Banda, and the Moluccas, we take notice thereof, and will put it in print amongst the rest of their lyes, out of whose mouth there commeth not a true word. We like very well of your former proceedings, and of your large advise concerning those parts, praying you to continue therein, and with a stedfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatning, to defend the place untill we send further ayde. And no doubt, but the Honorable Company will highly reward you and all those that faithfully and truly doe their endevour in their affaires. Thus leaving further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory and your hearts desire.

Bantam, the three and twentieth of
December 1618.

Your loving Friends,
JOHN JORDAN, AUGUSTINE SPALDWIN, GEORGE BALL.

THe James and the Bantam arrived at Bantam from Jambe, the one and twentieth dicto, by whom we understand of the death of Master Richard Westly, murthered there by the Dutch, they inviting him to their house, to give him his foy, he being bound for Bantam in these ships, and there ended his life. The three and twentieth dicto, I set saile in the James, Hound and Petty France from Bantam, towards the Fleet, which lay about the Ilands of Jacatra neere the Holland fleet, hoping to have beene with them before they had begunne any fight. But the very same day in the morning, the Fleets had a very hot incounter for the space of foure houres, our men valiantly fighting, and they no lesse defending our Fleet, having shot about twelve hundred shot to the Hollanders; so that they have had such a breakfast that they will not abide a second, but flye before us, as we suppose, only to draw us to the East-wards from their Fort, supposing that wee shall not bee able to come up this Monson. But wee have not followed them further then the Easter point of Jacatra, whereas wee have lost sight of them, and know not as yet which way they are gone either to the Eastward or to the Westward. *Post-script of Master Jordan.* [I. v. 677.]

Your loving Friend,

JOHN JORDANE.

The second of February, we by councell ordered that the Francis should ride under the Fort, to releeve such Junckes as should come thither for reliefe: divers of which with some Praw or Curracorra they had intercepted, so to starve the Inhabitants. The fift, came a Praw from Pooloway with Letters from the English Prisoners, deploring that lying in misery and irons many of them have lost their lives, who if they had beene at libertie might have beene alive, and have done their King and Countrey good service, and praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money and what else could be sent, not knowing whether they might bee suffered hereafter to send or no: which I answered with Certificate of the newes and provision. *Letter from the Prisoners complayning of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.*

The thirteenth of February, there were three ships in Nero Road, one whereof had her beak-head shot off, and shot thorow in fortie places. I ghessed it one of the ships which were in the skirmish at Jacatra.

The eighteenth, I received a Letter by a Praw from Wayre, from Bartholomew Churchman, wherein with thankes for things sent, he certifieth that the Angell came from Amboyna that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will bee fourteene or fifteene ships with the old Generall too, that commeth from Ternate: and shortly they looke for their Fleet from the Maneelos, which is ten ships. And they say they will goe all to Java together, and where they had the overthrow, there againe they will set upon our ships to recover their former losse and disgrace in sight of all the Javas. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equall tearmes. Three dayes after wee had received your Letter, they brought us all to Nero, where they doe allow us now more victuals and libertie, then they did before (God be thanked therefore) and within two or three dayes we are to goe for Amboyna in the Angell, &c.

Dutch preparation.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. I did write to Master Staverton at Maccasser, and also to Master President, certifying that at that time there was neither Holland ship nor Gally in Banda: and had the English ships comne as they promised, I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monson beene left one Hollander, enemie to us in Banda, by reason, I know, the World was never so hard with them: their wants being extreame, both for men and victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would have fled to us: wee having neither stocke nor victuals, but bare incouragement of words, &c.

The eight of June, the Pinnasse set saile for Seiran, and returned the fourteenth of July, with fiftie thousand Cakes of Sago.

The three and twentieth of August, I sent her thither againe. Shee returned the five and twentieth of November, so full of leakes, that the third of December we haled

her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we saved what we could, and set fire on the rest.

The fift of December, there came a Lantore Coracora, which brought newes that foure dayes before they had taken a Holland Praw rowing from Nero to Pooloway, there being foure Holland Prawes in company, bound for Pooloway, who came by Lantore daring the Banda men to come forth: who manned two Prawes, and followed them almost to Pooloway, and tooke one of them, and killed all the men, being twentie Blackes and nine Hollanders. The Lantore men are now in heart: and now I have gotten the Banda men to repaire the Fort at the Iland, beeing much out of reparations. The foure and twentieth of December, heere arrived a Juncke from Maccasser, which brought us some provision, but no newes from the West. That day Master Jackson misse-behaving himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

The twelfth of January, an Holland Coracora which came from Amboyna with Letters to the Captaine of Nero, put off by a gust, was taken by the Ilanders. The Letters contayned their losing of Bachan to the Spaniards, and their troubles at Amboyna and Luho, but no newes from the West. The thirtieth, I sent over Robert Hayes with the Priest of Pooloway to Lantore, to conferre with the Orancajas there about the surrender of their Land to the Kings Majestie of England; to which they all agreed, that the Sabandar of Lantore should be the man to come over and agree with me about that businesse. And that whatsoever he should agree upon, the whole Countrey would affirme unto. Also I sent to them concerning their making Islams of all such Hollanders as came running from Nero, which caused so few to come. They promised it should be no more so: but hereafter, as they should see cause, they would either kill them or send them to mee.

Surrender of Lantore talked of.

Making Moores of Christians.

The eight and twentieth, went by a Holland ship, and never touched at Pooloway, nor Nero; only a Boat came aboord her, and whither she went I know not. I ghessed, they brought no reliefe, and therefore would not stay for [I. v. 678.]

feare of Mutinies amongst the Souldiers, they beeing in great want and distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was over at Lantore, the Hollanders brake league with the Solamon men, taking three Prawes of theirs.

Holland Fleet reported thirtie foure Saile.

The thirteenth of February, came in a Java Juncke, and a Praw of this Iland, with Sago from Buro. The Javas could tell us no certaine newes of our shipping, but they reported that thirtie foure Holland ships were at Bantam, and that fifteene English ships were gone thorow the Streights of Sunda: and thought that no English ship would be here this yeare: which was cold comfort to me, which had neither direction nor stockes. Many Junckes arrived which could tell no other newes, one a Portugall Frigat, and in her Mattheus a Blacke whom I had sent the last Easterly winds to Maccasser, which brought Letters from thence, but Juncke and Letters were cast away. He came in this Frigat which was bound for the Moluccas, but having stricken on a Rocke and leake, was perswaded to come to Poolaroone. I tooke up all his lading, God make mee able to pay him.

Seven English ships taken in divers places by the Hollanders.

The twentieth of March, I received a Letter sent from Master Staverton at Maccasser, dated the seventh of February, wherein is mentioned the report of the Hound and Samson, taken at Patania by the Dutch; the Beare, Rose, Hope, and Dragon at Tecoo; and at Bantam, a ship called the Starre, new come out of England: complayning also of wants there, by neglect at Bantam. The two and twentieth, here arrived a Praw from Maccasser, with one Guilliam Gualtier a French-mans goods sent me to sell for him. The losse of the ships aforesaid, I thought good to adde out of a Letter of Master Muschamp, to Master Courthop.

Laus Deo in Jacatra, this ninth of March, 1619.

WOrthy and respected friend heartie salutations: my hope was to have beene my owne Messenger, but there was an unfortunate change, and time spent to little purpose, the manner I referre to future relation, not being

desirous to censure my superiours, only to cleere my selfe of the trust you imposed upon me, which I prosecuted with all my endevours, and to performe my promise in returning, freed my selfe from the chiefe Merchants place in Bantam. After all hope was past of comming to you I was appointed chiefe for Siam, and went with the President for Patania, where we fell in the hands of our Enemies, and in the defence of our ships and goods, performed what we were able: but the Elements fought against us, for contrary to the common course, we had neither wind nor tyde to thwart the ship to bring our Ordnance to beare, and they breathed themselves to our great disadvantage, which wee might have helped overnight, if the President had not stood too much upon points of honour in the sight of the Countrey people, which in his owne person he endevoured to maintaine, with as much resolution as ever did any Commander, and most part of us seconded, with our best endevours as long as we were able untill many of us were killed and hurt. Then the President sounded a parley, and in talking with Henrike Johnson, received his death's wound with a Musket, and they presently surprized our ships, made pillage of all we had, but gave most part of us our libertie, by reason of our wounds, where I continued foure monethes in miserable torture with the losse of my right legge, (shot off with a Canon) for want of Medicines to apply to it. Afterwards we came to seeke our Fleet in three Prawes, and left two of them with Master Weldin, and fortie men for the defence of our Factorie at Jambe: the residue beeing sixe and twentie with my selfe, came for Bantam, thinking to have found our Fleet, where wee were surprized with their ships and boats, and now remayne Prisoners with them, which is more grievous to me then the rest, by reason of the want of my legge, and urgeth me to solicite to goe home in their ships, which will be an unseasonable and discontented passage at this time, but in the case I am in, I doe not much value my life, and have every day lesse comfort and courage to remain in these

parts for either you or my selfe, howsoever I make no question, our honourable Masters will truly value your deserts. God send you well home, to receive the guerdon thereof, and the comfort of your friends, who as I heare are very desirous to see you, and your elder brother wished the Pursers Mate of the Starre to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a peny you should not want to receive it.

His name Robert Holdings now at Japarra.

The newes since our taking, as followeth.

The Starre comne out of England, taken in the Straights of Sunda: the Dragon, Expedition, Rose, and Beare taken at Tecoo, with sixe of their ships, they came upon them unprovided, and the Deckes of the Dragon was so pestered with Pepper and other things, that they could not use one quarter of their Ordnance, so that they were taken without any great resistance: the residue of our Fleet are at the Coast: viz. ten ships, where it is supposed they stay to joyne with seven ships that are at Surat, and three of the King of Denmarkes ships, which will be of force sufficient to revenge our injuries, if God be of our side and that they have no new force out of Holland: they have now not above fourteen ships before Bantam, and the Pangram continues their mortall Enemie, all the forces they have (which was thirtie sayle at one time) cannot bring him to any composition, but wholly relyeth upon our Fleet, and his owne strength, which will much advantage the Companies Trade, if they be of force to make their owne way, and assist him according to expectation.

[I. v. 679.] Excuse my unperfect advise, for I have neither time nor place to write as I would, when occasion shall serve, you shall find me alwayes readie to deserve your love and friendship, remember my love to Master Hayes, Master Jones, John Elmor, Thomas Dobins and all the rest, with my dearest affection to your selfe: I rest now and ever

Your faithfull friend to his power,

GEORGE MUSCHAMPE.

The eight and twentieth of March, 1620. here arrived a Juncke from Jortan, laden with Rice. The third of Aprill, three Holland ships sayled into Nero Road.

This yeare I had no Letter nor any advice from our Commanders at Bantam, nor any supply: and am enforced to take up all my mens goods, to buy victuals, to pay fiftie per cento, per annum interest. The thirtieth, I sent a Letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, and if the Portugall Frigat had not come in, I must have given over the place, whom yet I am enforced to send to Bantam for his payment on my Bill. God grant mee good getting out of these Countrie peoples hands: for they have spent their Gold and estates, beggering themselves: and divers of them losing, some their lives, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the Heathens saile to and againe, as also all other Nations, French and Portugals, and only the English feare to adventure the Companies goods, passing over the matter with rub out another yeare? we have rubbed off the skinne alreadie, and if we rub any longer, shall rub to the bone; I pray looke to it, &c.

The third of May, the long expected Jurotinge arrived with his Juncke, Master West dyed of the Fluxe.

The twentieth of June, I sent Letters to Maccasser, with a Letter inclosed to the President and Commanders, advising to send a ship with provisions, and of the Lantore men holding out still in expectation, and that except some such course be taken, they should see mee before they should heare any further from me.

The three and twentieth of September, Jurotinge set saile for Maccasser, whom I sent to fetch Rice: and with him three China men, which ranne from Nero to the Blackes at Lantore, which but for me would have forced them to turne Slammes.

Chap. X.

The continuation of the former Journall by Master Robert Hayes, contayning the death of Captaine Courthop, succession of Robert Hayes, surrender of Lantore to His Majestie, newes of the peace, and after the peace Lantore and Poolaroone seized by the Dutch, with abominable wrongs to the English.

He eighteenth of October, 1620. Our Captaine Nathaniel Courthop came to me Robert Hayes, and said that he heard say, there were two Prawes gone into Lantore yesterday, which were Key Prawes as hee thought (yet were not) and in regard of former abuses to Jurotingee, hee would goe and revenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But hee refused saying, if they were not of Key, it were but so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he over that night with his Boy William, wel fitted with Muskets and weapons; promising to returne in five dayes, and bidding me send for water on the three and twentieth, which I did, but he came not, and sent me word hee would come the sixe and twentieth at night. Hee came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at Lantore, because it was a great Feast with the Blacks the next day. There were one and twentie persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Peeces of the Companies, and goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred and fiftie Rials of eight or upwards. Comming thwart of Pooloway, about two or three a clocke in the morning, they met with the Hollanders Coracora and one Praw more with some fortie small shot, and comming up with them fought with them: where the Captaine behaved himselfe couragiously untill divers of

This Jurotinge, M. Staverton in a Letter of his which I have, calleth an unluckie fellow (as heere hee proved) seeming a blacke Saint, being a blacke Devill.

the Banda men were slaine. And the Captaine also receiving a shot on the brest sate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed threw it over-boord, and then leapt over-boord himselfe in his clothes, the Praw being too hot to stay in. And what became of him I know not: but the Blackes say surely he there sunke, by reason of his wounds and his clothes all about him. There came of those one and twentie persons, seven ashoare, who had not beene wounded, and were strong to swimme, the space being some five miles. The same night Riall a Dutchman (formerly turned Moore) ranne away to the Hollanders with a small Praw.

Captaine Corthop wounded, leapes over-boord.

[I. v. 680.]

The seven and twentieth of October, I went to the Fort at Neylackey, and calling the Company together, demanded of them their purpose: and they all promised that as formerly they had beene ruled by the Captaine, so now they would be ruled by me Robert Hayes, as knowing before that I was to succeed in case of Mortalitie. I tooke order concerning better watch, having but twentie three men on Neylackey, and two barrels of Powder with that which was in the Gunnes. The one and thirtieth, I sent a small Praw to Lantore, with foure men to certifie Robert Randall of businesse. The same night the Sabander Rato, came with a Coracora and an Orankay, well provided to bring over the Priest and Robert Randall with them. So all the chiefe of the Countrey came to the Fort on Saturday in the Evening the fourth of November, and called all our company, demanded whom they should now (our Captaine being dead) trust to take charge: they all answered Master Hayes: they further demanded, if they would stand to that which I should promise, because they were not to make agreement with a multitude without a head. They all answered, they would performe all my agreements and promises to the utmost of their power. I then being settled in my businesse, demanded thirtie men each night to come to watch with us, viz. fifteene at the Iland, and fifteene betwixt the two Forts; for that I feared assault in the night: and it was agreed.

Master Hayes succeeds.

New agreement betwixt the new Captaine and the people.

The fift of November, the Sabander Rato came with the Priest to me, to know my determination about foure Peeces of Ordnance, which the Captaine had promised to Lantore, as Master Randall knew & my selfe; and perusing the Presidents Letter to go thorow with them of Lantore, as we had done with them of Poolaroone and Pooloway; I answered, that if the Chiefe would come over and agree with me, I would performe their request. The seventh, Robert Randall went backe with the said Sab. Rato in the Corocora, which Rato said hee would certifie the Sab. of Lantore and the Orankayes of my answere; and that within three dayes I should expect them againe. At present here were seven Key Prawes in the Road, and the seventeenth, I manned our Oranbay with a Murtherer, and seven Muskets, and went with other five Muskets on the Flanker at Feriat, and sent to the Key-men that two of their Chiefe should come and conferre with me about the cloth stolne from Jurotinge: But they all swamme on shoare, till the Countrey people tooke up the matter, and gave mee two Key-men pledges, whom I kept at Neylarkey.

Key-men chastised.

The foure and twentieth, came three Corocoras with other Prawes from Lantore, for the Guns promised: and upon their demand of ayde of us, and agreement to surrender their Land to the Kings Majestie of England, I gave them two Sakers and one Demiculverin. The same day the Key-case was ended. And the same day they of Lantore surrendred the Land to the Kings most excellent Majestie.

Lantore surrendred to the King.

The sixe and twentieth of November, we saw a saile to the West, and all the chiefe of Banda being here put off with thirteene Corocoras, and came up with her, being a Holland Advisor from Japan and Amboyna, with Letters for Banda. They killed foure and kept three alive, beeing in all seven Hollanders. The Letters they brought me, but I could not attayne to the full contents by want of the Dutch Language. Only thus I found that the English and Hollander were agreed at home, and I read

Dutch Advisor taken.

the thirtieth Article of agreement betwixt us and them: so that I thought it not unfit to send the Letters to Pooloway. I would have kept the businesse from the Banda men; but then it would have beene worse for us. I therefore disclosed it to the Priest of Pooloway, so to frame our answere to the whole Countrey, namely, that shippes both English and Dutch were to come thither to end the businesse, and that it were good those Writings should be sent to the Hollanders to redeeme their three men with sixe Blackes. Wee were glad of the agreement, but knew not how to cleere our selves of the Countrey people, in case of peace.

The eight and twentieth, I sent Robert Munday with sixe Banda slaves to Pooloway with a flagge of Truce and that Packet of Letters, and to redeeme their men, and to send word whether they would persist in their rigorous courses, or be still till ships came: which if they refused, that they take notice that the Banda men are in hand with a stratageme against them (for they purposed to make use of their Ordnance, and besides, to set on their Frigat, but I would not disclose the particulars.) The nine and twentieth, my Messenger came backe with a Letter written.

To his loving Friend Master Robert Hayes, Factor for the English upon Poolaroone.

WOrthy Sir, your Letters of the eight and twentieth of November, we have received, also the packet of Letters which were by it, and have with great joy and gladnesse understood the friendship and agreement betweene both our Masters: wherewithall is ended warre which was begunne with great bloud shedding, not fitting for two Nations which have beene so good Friends as yours and ours have beene. We have further understood with sadnesse the losse of the Campas and the killing of foure men at the taking of her: likewise of three which are the Banda mens Prisoners, for the redeeming of which they will have sixe men: howsoever, I will not leave them un-redeemed. The Captaine Nathaniel is killed in the

[I. v. 681.] *The Letter of the Dutch to the English about the peace.*

Prow, for which God knoweth I was heartily sorie. We have buried him so stately and honestly as ever we could fitting for such a man.

M. Courthop buried by the Dutch.

He proceeds with desire that Master Hayes and an Orankaja should come that they might conferre upon some truce with the Bandanezes till the ships comming, wherein they should well agree if they would let them have Mace and Nuts for their money: with promise of securitie, a present, thankes and commendations.

Dated Pooloway, in the Castle of Revenge this ninth of Decemb. Anno 1620. stilo novo.

Your loving Friend WILLIAM VAN ANTHON.

The second of December, the Priest was content to take man for man, but freemen; and if they had not, so many hundred Rials of 8. for the third. And I writ so by Ed. Twelves, and advised them of going betweene Lantore and Guning Apee, and of an action in hand, &c. The third my Messenger returned with a Holland Prow rowed by Spaniards, and two Hollanders, the Minister and an Ancient-bearer which brought Nocoda Ismael, Mirnie, and one hundred Rials of eight. And I suffered no Banda man to come to the Iland but only the Priest, and exchanged the Prisoners. I entertayned the Hollanders in the best manner I could, but would not suffer them as they desired to speake with a Banda Orancaja, suspecting it was for trade. In the Letter of van Anthon, he writes, Touching the truce of which you write, is not only betweene Yours and Our Masters made a truce, but also a good and sure peace. Therefore there is nothing to say betweene you and us. When it please you, you may goe where soever you list, &c.

Monsons. Want of water.

The fift day, the Westerne Monson blew with raine, God be thanked, for wee had no water fell to any purpose, since the beginning of June last being sixe monethes, so that wee went to Lantore seven times for water, besides that I hired the Key-men once. The same day came a Praw from Beynawre, and told of twentie Corocoras gone

Beynawre.

from Seyram to Amboyna against the Hollander, besides many small Prowes. There came over the Sabander Rato, and Sab. Lantore with a Coracora and two Oranbayas for their other Gunne: and told that the Hollanders sued for peace and Trade with the Lantore men and those of Salomon, but were deferred till tenne dayes for answere. I bade them remember their Surrender, and how they had promised in writing to sell no Spice but to the English. Thus the Hollander sought by policie what he could, notwithstanding the newes was publike.

The eighteenth, I had word that the Hollanders came to seeke for Trade with the Lantore men, which would not agree except they would restore them one of the Ilands of Nero or Pooloway: whereupon the Hollanders Messenger returned to Nero, and pulled downe their white Flags which had stood some ten dayes, and set red in place, and sent the Frigat to shoot into Lantore. And at night the Lantore men sent three Blackes in a small Praw to Nero, which killed a Hollander in a house without the Castle. And the Sab. Rato sent me word that they would keepe their Spice for the English only.

The one and twentieth of December, here arrived at the Lucon a China Juncke from Maccasser, with a little Rice and Racke from the Factor and Letters, but no newes from the West; so that we knew more Newes here then they there. He also protested in his Letter, that hee had that on trust, having no meanes left but borrowing, the people censuring and the Portugals laughing hereat. Dated the nine and twentieth of November, to Captaine Courthop.

The nineteenth of January, I sent over the Sewes to fetch Letters from Master Staverton, in a Portugall Juncke. I heard then by Master Randals Letter, that the Hollanders had burned the great China Juncke with our Flag in her, and tooke our Letters and all the China men Prisoners: but the Lantore men will redeeme them with two Hollanders, they tooke in a small Prow, having killed the third. But the Hollanders care not so much to re- *Dutch cunning.*

deeme their men, as to have Trade with the Blackes. They doe what lyeth in their power to set the Banda men and us at difference. For any Sailes they see they pursue, under the reach of Ordnance: and being pursued by Banda Coracoras, put out a white Flagge to us: which I thinke basely done. They were intreated by mee to bee still till the Fleetes came but they will not, though themselves goe by the worst. They professe friendship to the English, and skirmish with the Bandanezes, with whom we live.

The Letters which I received from Hoja Murad, was the Copie of a Letter from Master Hayward the Factor at Succadania to Master Staverton of the place. Dated [I. v. 682.] the seven and twentieth of October. It was under-written by Master Staverton, with promise of reliefe, his best endevours, the Copie of the Articles sent from our Commanders at Jacatra, under-written by Captaine Furresland President, Master Brokden, Master Spaldin, &c.

The five and twentieth of January, Matthew Richards was censured for misdemeanour, in pulling downe the Orders set up in our place of Common Prayer and uncivill speeches, by consent of Councell.

Hollanders pretence to Lantore.

The ninth of February, the Dragons Claw arrived and brought us Letters and a Cargazon. The eleventh, came by eleven Holland ships, and I sent my Prow aboord to heare of our shipping. I received a Letter from Master Bates from Amboyna, wherein I was certified of the Hollanders pretence to take Lantore with two thousand Souldiers, besides a thousand more of all Nations; which was strange newes to us, expecting nothing lesse, in respect that Land was surrendred unto us, and we had a Factory there, with men, Ordnance, and goods. I expected directions from Jacatra concerning this affaire, but I had no knowledge concerning it. Three dayes after, in came some three ships more.

Notice given to the Dutch General, which would give no answere.

The sixteenth at night, I wrote a Letter to the Dutch Generall, to give him notice of the surrender of Lantore, and of our men, goods and munition there. The eigh-

teenth, my Messenger returned certifying me that the Dutch Generall read my Letter, but would not answere it, but bid my Messenger be gone. Now the Dutch sent to the Lantore men to yeeld up their Countrey to them, and to put the English from them; but they would not. Neither would I send for them to come off, for I could not answere it, namely to forsake the Companies goods there, or to leave the Land so surrendred to the Kings Majestie. The Lantore men sent over to mee, to know what we meant to deceive them, and not to succour them as we had promised. I sent over my Prow with men in her for the defending of the Companies Spice there. But for that the Countrey saw I could not relieve them, denyed that we should put out our Flagge, in regard they must defend themselves for all us. So all the men returned except Robert Randall, and two more English.

Hollanders invade Lantore, and burne the Towne.

The first of March, the Hollanders forces went on shoare at a place betwixt Loquee and Maude Anginy, and so marched to Lantore, and tooke the Towne and fired it; there being small bloud-shed on either partie. The Inhabitants fled, and Master Randall & the other two English standing by the Companies goods were taken and stript to their skinnes, bound, beaten, throwne over the Towne-wall; and carried aboord the Generall, and put in Chaines. They tooke all the Companies spice, goods and monies by accompt of Robert Randall, three and twentie thousand foure hundred pounds English, of Maces, and one hundred and twentie thousand pounds English of Nuts, Monies, five hundred Rials, Cloth and others to a small quantitie.

The English villanously abused by Hollanders.

Dutch flights.

The third day the Starre arrived here at Poolaroone: so I went aboord and made Master Welden and Master Bates acquainted with these Occurrents. The fift, they went over to the Generall at Nero, to know his pleasure about setling of Factories in Banda: but hee pretended businesse for three or foure dayes, and then we should heare further. At Master Weldens being there, he spake with Master Randall with much adoe, who told of his

usage. But release could not be gotten for our men. Further, the Generall demanded, if we had Poolaroone men in subjection, as he had the Lantore men; otherwise he would come and doe it. His pretence (as I suppose) is to picke a Quarrell with the Poolaroone men to get us out, and after to settle us under them.

Hollanders arts at Poolaroone.

The sixt of March, the Hart came and anchored at the Lucon, and twentie five Prowes contayning some fifteene hundred men, came and lay off: and the Fiscall came aboord the Starre. Now the Countrey people came flocking to know what these Prowes meant, and whether they came in peace or warre. The Fiscall intreated Master Welden to goe ashoare with him: but Master Welden said he had businesse aboord, desiring me to goe on shoare.

The Fiscals threats.

The Fiscall then told the Countrey people they had nothing to say to us: but as for them, if they did not come and submit themselves presently to the Generall, that they should fare as those of Lantore: & would know how they durst surrender Poolaroone to the English. The Countrey said that they knowing it to bee peace betwixt them and the English; and they themselves subjects to the Kings Majestie of England, doubted not that the Hollander had any further to say in this matter. The Advocate replyed, that if on the morrow they would not come over and surrender their Land to the Generall, that then they would come with their forces, &c. and so hee departed. And the seventh day, the Countrey being afraid that we could not withstand the Hollanders (as indeed then we could not) they went to the Generall and told him they had brought the Land unto him, but it was not theirs to give, being formerly given the English: therefore let them and the English try for that as we would. The ninth, came the Advocate with certaine Souldiers and Amboynezes, to command the Blackes to pull downe their wals, and deliver up their weapons, which they did: and afterwards bid the Blackes take off our Gunnes from the Land; but the Orankay answered they could not doe it by reason of former agreement. Then the Fiscall would

The people pleade subjection to his Majestie.

High-way-law.

Note well.

have mee to take them off, but I would not. The Fiscall said that if the Blackes would not give them the Land cleare without bushes on it (mening by us) that then he would come with his forces. So by their policie they set the Blackes against us to cut our throats as much as lay in their power. *Sententias loquitur Carnifex.*

The thirteenth, the Fiscall came to see if the Blackes had pulled downe their wals, and was at them to pull off our Gunnes, and left their flagge standing upon one of the carriages of our Gunnes which were at the Towne, the same time Master Welden went to Nero to the publication. [I. v. 683.] The fourteenth, came in the Exchange, and I related to Captaine Fitzherbert of the Occurrents here, who wished hee had beene here sooner, and that night sent one of his men on shore, and carried away the flag into Nero Road the next day: and sent word backe to send the Starre presently away for Nero, which I did as soone as I could on the eighteenth. *Captaine Fitzherbert.*

The twentieth, the Fiscall and the Captaine Solar came with twentie Souldiers, and threw downe all our Ordnance of the mayne Iland, being nine Peeces, and broke them, and carryed away the Peeces thereof. Also they tooke away a flagge from one of the Forts, and carried away a Coracora of the English for Pooloway. As for the little Iland they medled not with it at all, but as we had it, so we might keepe it. The flagge which they tooke, the Fiscall said was in revenge that Captaine Fitzherbert had taken away their flagge. *Dutch hostility to the English.*

The one and twentieth, the Claw arrived from Amboyna. The sixe and twentieth, 1621. the Generall of the Hollanders sent to the Orankajes of Poolaroone, commanding them to sell us no more Spice. *Imperious Dutch.*

The second of Aprill, Master Bate went to settle at Poolaway. The Pinnasse was sent on a Voyage to Seyran, to buy slaves and Sago. The eight and twentieth, we heard of a strange Massacre, that the Generall cut in pieces fortie foure Orankajes of Lantore for Treason. *DutchEmpire.*

The second of May, the Generall signed Articles of

agreement with the Poolaroone men, which were all one in effect with our Articles formerly signed with them; only, that they must pay Tenths to the Prince of the Countrey. The fourth, hee sent to take the Orancks of Poolaroone their Oathes to be true to the Prince of Orange.

Seran treachery. The two and twentieth, I heard of the Clawes misfortune betrayed by Seran men, losing twentie two slaves and halfe their Sago, being glad to get aboord themselves; lost two men and all whatsoever on shoare. The cause sprang from Lantore men that ranne thither, saying, that the English and Hollanders were all one and had massacred their Orencajas.

English suffer for Hollanders faults.

The fift of June, I went in the Claw from Poolaroone to Amboyna, where I went ashoare on the ninth.

I have added to this Journall of Master Hayes (by him kindly communicated to me) a Letter of Master Fitzherbert to him, sorting with these Dutch Affaires.

I have added Master Fitzherberts Letter here printed out of the originall, because the Dutch in their Answere make him an Approver of their Dessignes.

MAster Hayes, these are to require you to discharge these three Dutchmen out of the Companies service, and to dispatch them off the Iland, for so much I have promised unto the Dutch Generall, who is much offended with them, that he saith, he will have them howsoever. It doth grieve mee to turne away the Companies Servants in this manner, preferring in my minde the time of our infortunate warre before a troubled peace. Other newes I could write, but I referre it to better occasion. From aboord the Royall Exchange in Nero Roade, the eighteenth of March, 1620.

Your loving Friend,

HUMFREY FITZHERBERT.

FOr the Readers more full satisfaction in these Affaires of Banda (the originall of the Warres betwixt the English and Hollanders in the Indies) I have re-printed three Letters before published: as also the Declaration of the Hollanders in answere thereto; and the same refuted by certaine Mariners, together with Depositions touching the Premisses. And lastly, the state of the Quarrels betwixt the Dutch and the Bandanezes, and betwixt ours and them, is more fully cleered by the Authour.

Chap. XI. [I. v. 684.]

A Letter written to the East India Company in England, from their Factours.

ABout the moneth of December, 1620. the Dutch Generall having prepared a force of sixteene ships, declared to our President, that hee entended an exploit for the good of both Companies, without mentioning any particulars of his Designes.

And seeing us to have no such forces readie to joyne with him, hee said hee would attempt it alone. And the third of January, 1620. he did set sayle from Jaquatra with his said forces, and arrived at Banda about the third of February following.

Presently upon his arrivall, he made great preparation against the Iland of Lantore, which Iland was formerly by the Inhabitants thereof delivered over unto our people for the use, and under the subjection of the Kings Majestie of England, whereof our Captaine of the Ile of Polaroone had taken possession, and had also setled a Factory there.

When our chiefe Factor * in our said Ile of Polaroone, heard of the purpose of the Dutch Generall against the said Ile of Lantore, he wrote a Letter unto the said Generall, advising him that the said Ile of Lantore did belong unto the King of England, and that therefore hee should not attempt any violence against it, seeing there is an

*This was M. Hayes Captain of the English.

accord made in England betweene us. Which Letter, the said Generall threw from him in a great rage, scarce vouchsafing to reade it over, and caused the Messenger to bee thrust out of doores, requiring him to advise our Factor of Polaroone, presently to send to Lantore, and fetch away all such of our people and goods as were upon that Iland; for whomsoever hee should find there, hee would take them as his utter Enemies, and they should fare no better then the Inhabitants.

And within ten or twelve dayes after he landed all his forces there, and subdued the said Iland. So long as the fight endured, our Factors and Servants there (being three English and eight Chinees) kept themselves within doores, and afterwards our people came out of their houses, and told them, the house wherein they were, was the English house, and that therefore they should not meddle therewith.

Neverthelesse they sacked our house, tooke away all our goods, murthered three of our Chines Servants, bound the rest (as well English as Chinezes) hand and foote, and threatned them to cut their throats, binding them three severall times to severall stakes, with their weapons readie drawne out, and did put a halter upon our principall Factors necke, drawing up his head, and stretching out his necke, readie to put them to death, yet did not execute them, but as they were bound hand and foot (as afore-said) tumbled them downe over the Rockes like Dogges, and like to have broken their neckes, and thus bound, carryed them aboord their shippes, and there kept them Prisoners in Irons, foureteene or sixteene dayes.

Robert Randall.

After the conquest of the Iland of Lantore, the Dutch Generall threatned to doe the like unto Polaroone, wherefore our principall * Factor of Polaroone being there but newly arrived, went unto the Dutch Generall unto the Castle of Nero, and told him that hee heard that hee purposed to take Polaroone by force, which he could not beleeve, although his owne Messenger sent to Polaroone, to speake with our Factors, had given it out also, that the

**This was M. Welden.*

Generall himselfe should say, that if the English did not come presently unto him, and yeeld the said Fort of Polaroone unto him, hee would send his forces, and over-runne all the Countrey, but hoped hee would enterprize no such thing against that place, considering the Articles of agreement, and knowing how many yeares (to the great losse and charge of the Company) wee held possession and maintayned the place to the use of his Majestie of England.

The said Generall made little answere to it, as though there were no such matter intended, whereupon our said Factor tooke his leave and came away.

But the next day he was followed to Polaroone, with an Armado of twentie sixe Prowes, and one ship, which did put the Inhabitants of Polaroone in such a feare, as they knew not what to doe; whereupon our chiefe Factor there asked the Commander of those forces, what his purpose was with such a Fleet there, and that if he attempted any thing against Poolaroone, it was a breach of the Articles it being in our possession. This could not prevaile with him, but said the Land was theirs, and they would have it by faire meanes or force, and as for our profession, they would not acknowledge it (the Inhabitants and not we being Masters of the place) and so the Dutch Commander went ashoare unto the Inhabitants.

Whereupon the said Inhabitants asked us if we could and would defend them, but perceiving we were not able to defend our selves, much lesse to secure them: they were forced to yeeld themselves and the Iland into his hands.

The Dutch tooke downe the English colours, and set up their owne, and caused the Inhabitants presently to bring in all their weapons, and to throw downe all their wals, and would have forced them to have taken all our [I. v. 685.] Ordnance out of our Fort, which they at the first refused to doe, alleaging that they had formerly given and surrendred the Land to the King of England, and in respect they had lived so long with the English, they would not now offer us any injurie or violence.

And when our chiefe Factor went ashoare to expostulate the matter with the Dutch Commander, he could obtayne nothing at his hands, but that the Land was theirs, and things must be so, and should be so.

Whereupon our said Factor went againe unto the Dutch Generall to the Castle of Nero to conferre with him thereabouts, but he would give no other answere, but that hee had referred those businesses to his said Lieutenant sent thither, with whom he might conferre: who in the absence of our chiefe Factor, had brought some of his Souldiers ashoare upon Poolaroone, and forced the Ilanders to throw all our Ordnance over the Rocke from the place where they were planted (being nine peeces) whereof foure broke with the fall, and were all carryed away by the Dutch.

Nathaniel Courthop. Moreover our Captaine of Poolarone who had defended the Iland foure yeeres together, going to Lantore (at the request of the Inhabitants) to receive the surrendry thereof for our Kings Majesties use (as aforesaid) and returning backe againe about the beginning of November, 1620. was slaine by the Dutch. And it is very probable, they did it after the time they had intelligence of the publication of the accord at Bantam, in March 1619. For presently upon the said publication, they sent secretly to the Ilands in those parts, where they had trade, to prevent us of our part of the Spices due unto us by the accord.

After the said Dutch Generall had subdued the fore mentioned Iland of Lantore, hee constrayned them to deliver unto him, the principall of all their children for Hostages: Then hee tooke away from them all their small Vessels and Boates, and then he also required all the men of Lantore to be brought unto him, and they brought him all the principall men, but this did not satisfie him, but he would have all the Bandanezes, which had ayded them, as also all their wives and children, small and great to be brought as Prisoners aboord his ships.

Which when the Bandanezes perceived (doubting that he meant to make them all slaves and to carrie them to

some other places) they agreed together to retyre themselves into the highest and strongest places of the Land, and there did fortifie themselves, whereupon the Dutch slue of them and tooke twelve hundred persons Prisoners, most of them being women and children, which they have since carryed to Jacatra and other places.

Reverendo in Christo Fratri D. Domino Adrian Jacobson Hulsebus apud Jacatranenses Batavos Prædicatori, Salutem & pacem ab Authore utriusque.

LOving Brother: I have received your Letters, and according to your desire, have returned these few lines in answere thereunto. If I have not so fully satisfied the particulars of your Letters, as I wished and purposed, I pray you impute it not to any want of will, but unto my disacquaintance with your Dutch Tongue and hand: I should peradventure have given you better satisfaction then now I doe, if you had written to me in the Latine Tongue. But to leave excuses and come to the matter, the thing you touch in your Letter is but too too true, to wit, that the hatred and dissention among Christians (if it continue, as God defend it should) is, and will bee the cause of much innocent bloud-shedding amongst friends, and of estranging the hearts of Heathens, from the worship of the true God. And therefore that enmitie amongst friends may cease, and that such as are yet without, may be allured to submit themselves to the Scepter of Jesus Christ: it standeth us upon (who are Preachers of the Gospell of Peace) to be instruments of peace, which for my owne part how willing I am to doe, is not unknowne to such as know my selfe, and among whom I doe daily converse. I have alwayes both in publike and private, by Letters to our Worshipfull Company in England, and by lively voice to our Commanders here in the Indies, declared how good a thing it is for us that are Christians, professing one Faith, one Christ, one Baptisme, to live in

peace, and to dwell together in unitie. And of this my earnest desire to be a Peace-maker, Master Brancraft your Master of the Blacke Lion, who remayned after his taking some weekes aboord of the Royall James, can give evident testimonie and witnesse. And now that you have written to this end, I will stirre up my selfe, and set afresh upon the worke of reconciliation. It is pelfe indeed and pride that is the Make-bate breeding strife and discord: for, had not the riches of the Moluccas, and the robbing of the Chinees and others by you, under the English Colours, fathering thereby your theft upon us, cast you into a deepe and deadly Lethargie, you would not as you have [I. v. 686.] done, have abused your best friends abroad, that have shed so much of their deerest blood in defence of you and your countrey at home; but now you are freed from the Spaniard at home, you fall out with your friends abroad. Is this the recompence of our love and blood shewed unto you, and shed for you, to keepe you from the supposed thraldome of Spaine? Did David thus reward his three Worthies, who adventured their lives to satisfie his longing, & to quench his thirst? Did he not say, Lord, be it farre from me that I should doe this: is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? 2. Sam. 23. 17. Doe you thus requite us, as Lot did Abraham, Who, when as hee with the three hundred and eighteene that were borne and brought up in his house, did recover Lot and his goods, and women out of the hands of the Conquerors, cared not for him but to serve his owne turne, and being delivered, did in a manner scorne Abrahams company. Well, though Abraham being the elder and worthier might have stood upon his right, yet yeelded of his interest, that he and Lot might live as brothers, and the rather because both of them at this time sojourned among the Canaanites and Pheresites, who were ready to take notice of their discord, and so to curse their God and holy Religion. Yet what gained Lot by separating company, but a showre of fire and brimstone, which rained upon Sodome wherein he lived, and would have consumed

both him and his, if God had not beene mercifull unto him at Abrahams request.

It is not long of the English that we expose our selves to the mockery of Infidels: our Company love peace, and trade peaceably: they have put up for peace sake more wrongs at your hands, then they meane to doe againe. You write and publish to the world, that the Sea is free, and yet by your encroaching upon it, are not you both the Mothers and Nurses of discord? One of our Commaunders, wrote (as I thinke, or at least sent word by one of speciall note amongst your selves) to Coen your Commander concerning a parley before the shooting downe of our Turret at Jacatra: but the first and last newes we heard of him, was it not the beating downe of our house there, and the defaming of our Nation, with Penoran at Bantam and others here?

And thinke you that this is the way to make peace?

The present Captaine of your Fort at Jacatra promised to the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Dale our chiefe Commander, upon the faith of a Christian, that M. Peter Wadden (now your prisoner) should have free ingresse and egresse in and out of your house to parley betweene us, to returne to our Shippes: and yet is either promise or oath kept? hath he not, and doth he not continue your prisoner to this hower? You remember Jehu his answere to Jehoram, What peace whiles the whoredomes of thy Mother Jezabel, and her witchcrafts are yet in great number? 2. Kings 9. 23. No sound league of friendship or reconciliation can be made, or being made can continue, till the wrongs which men have done one to another, be reproved, and removed; and satisfaction given by word and deed, where it may possibly be performed; else it will be like a wound or sore, that being cured outwardly to the eye, doth bleed and fester inwardly; many hollow reconciliations are daily made amongst men, which afterwards breake out to the hurt of both parties, and scandall of others: As a wound that is ill cured, by an unskilfull or an unconscionable Chirurgion. As for mine

owne part, I would to God that if it were possible, I might with all my best skill and cunning be the Chirurgion to cure this wound, that our reconciliation, when ever it shall be made, may not be hollow, but holy and firme: yea I wish from my heart, that my very blood might be the milke to put out this wilde fire which now is kindled, and (if it be not quenched in time) is like to devoure, not onely the ships and goods (as it hath done some already, and is like to doe more) but the precious lives of many of both Nations, and of those also that are as yet unborne, who (it is like) will curse the time that ever the English and Dutch knew the Indies. All standeth not in one side, there must be a yeelding of both sides, if ever there be a sound peace. But you say, both sides are stout, who shall begin? I answere, what availeth anger without strength to beare it out? What is fiercenesse of spirit without wisedome of heart? but even a fooles bolt against himselfe. And to such a one may not the saying of Archidamus to his sonne, being too foolehardie, be as fitly applyed as a glove to a mans hand: Sonne, sonne, either put too more strength, or take away some of this courage? You cannot be ignorant that when Herod intended to make warre against the Tyrians and Sydonians, how they came all with one accord, and perswaded Blastus the Kings Chamberlaine that they might live in peace, or else they should all of them be starved, Act. 12. 20. Take heede you come not to this when it is too late. Are you so well able to live of your selves in Holland, that you have no need of your neighbour countrey England? Are you so high above the waters, that the sluces of heaven cannot drowne you? Or are the Seas so low beneath your Netherlands, that you feare no deluge? Shebna the Treasurer, was he not as surely seated as your Grave is in Holland? or the greatest amongst you here in the Indies, even Coen himselfe? and yet was he not tossed up and downe as a foote-ball in a strange countrey? and were not the Chariots of his glory the shame of his Lords house? Esay 22. 18. But I have

runne my selfe a little beyond that I intended, and now to recover my breath, by these lines I promise, and by word and deed will, God willing, with saile and care labour to bring to passe, that we may live as friends and neighbours both here and at home. Thus I have returned you an answere to that you desire, and looke that both of us should doe our best endeavour for the good of our present Fleets, and of such as hereafter may live to blesse us. From our Royall James riding neere to Bantam Rode, this 20. of Aprill 1619.

Your loving brother PATRICKE COPLAND.

From aboard the Bee in the Rode of Jacquatra on the Coast of Java, the five and twentieth of February. 1620.

[I. v. 687.]

AUgust the second 1619. our ship and goods were taken by the Flemings in the strait of Sunda neere Bantam, and set ashore at Jacquatra. September the eight 1619. the Flemings dispersed us into their ships, and on the coast of Sumatra the first of October 1619. they tooke foure other English ships. viz. the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose. And on the second of October they turned us all ashore at Tecoo amongst the Indians, where our Merchants had no trade, but for eight dayes. We were then three hundred seventie and odde men, all or the most part undone. About fifteene men were killed in fight. They left us the little Rose to shift for our selves.

Ships taken by the Hollanders at Banda, Before this, they had taken the Swan, the Salomon, the Attendance, and kept the Defence which fugitive knaves betrayed to them: Likewise the Speedwell a Pinnasse they are reported to have entered and taken out the English, leaving only three ignorant Blacks which

The three and twentieth of October, 1619. there came into the Roade out of England three other ships, the Palsgrave, the Elizabeth, and the Merchants hope. From Tecoo we sayled too and fro, and at length came to anchor at an Iland called Amyncan, where we had fresh water and some fish, but is in no place of trade, nor is there any man

for want of wit or skill, suffered her to be lost: the cause, for that she would not strike to the Dutch, pleading freedom in sea, as subject to a free King. The Starre was taken in the strait of Sunda. In all, these infortunate shippes, are twelve.

that knoweth of any thing that growes upon it. The people are thought to bee meneaters. After this we returned backe for Tecoo, & neere the same twenty nine of January 1619. we met with Generall Pring in the Royall James, and his whole fleet of ships, in number nine. All the fleet being then twelve goodly ships, were resolved to saile for Bantam: and in sight of two Flemish ships, (which we purposed to take) Captaine Adams in the ship called the Bull, together with one of the Flemish ships came up with newes of peace. We then sailed for Jacatra, where by the way met us seventeen saile of goodly Flemmish ships, with whom (had not the peace then come) we must have fought it out. But peace being then concluded betweene the Flemmings and us, our English Factorie was againe setled at Jacatra; and the ships divided, some for one place, some for another.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill 1620. the Royall James, and a ship of some eight hundred Tunnes called the Unicorne, set saile for Japan, the distance neere about a eleven hundred leagues. The second of June 1620. The Unicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certaine Iland called the Macojo Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saved: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost. As we sailed for Japan at a place called Patanie, we heard of Captaine Jordayne, who being there with two ships, called the Hound, and the Samson, there came into the Rode and fought with them three Flemish ships: Captaine Jordayne was slaine in that fight, and the Flemmings tooke both their shippes. The seventeenth of December 1620. The great James being well trimmed at a place called Firando in Japan, came away from thence: and the fourteenth of Januarie 1620. we arrived safely at Jacatra, where she is now loaden for England.

The ships that since my comming from England, have beene taken and and lost, are the Sunne, cast away neere Bantam; the Starre, taken neere Bantam; the Dragon,

the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose, taken at Tecoo; the Hound and the Samson taken at Patany; the Unicorne cast away on the coast of China; two or three other ships taken and lost at the Moluccas.

Men of good command, dead, are, Captaine Parker of Plymmouth, Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Jordayne killed at Patany, Captaine Bonner killed at Tecoo while we were at Japan. The Flemmings yeelded up againe the Starre to the English, and she is gone to the Moluccas.

THOMAS KNOWLES.

Chap. XII.

The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies: faithfully translated according to the Dutch Copy, Printed at Amsterdam, 1622. Written in answere to the former reports, touching wrongs done to the English. And an answere written by certaine Mariners lately published: with Depositions further opening the iniquity and crueltie of the Dutch.

§. I.

A true Relation of that which passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies, in the yeere of our Lord God 1621. And before printed at Amsterdam 1622.

ALl the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August 1609. by a speciall treaty and agreement made with the Orankayes, or Magistrates of the foresaid Ilands, were put under the protection of the high and mighty, the States generall of the united Provinces, on condition to defend them from the Portugall, and other their Enemies, provided that they of the said Ilands, are bound to deliver unto the Fort called Nassau, or unto the Committees of the said

[I. v. 688.] Company, all their fruits or spices at a certaine price, and so forth, as by the said treaty of agreement more at large appeareth. These articles of agreement, being for a time by them performed, were afterward broken and violated, as well in keeping backe, and with-holding the said fruits and spices, which they were tyed to deliver to the Netherlands Company; as also enforcing and robbing their Ware-houses, and contrary to solemne treaty and promise; murthering at sundry times and places, divers of the principall Officers, Committees, and Servants of the said Netherlands Company, in taking away divers small Shippe provision, their open invading of the places and Countries, withstood also lately under the subjection of the High and Mightie the States generall, and in conquering the inhabitants thereof, whom with a strong hand they forced from being Christians to become Moores againe, or those which withstood or gaine-said them, they sold as Slaves, and in committing all kind of perverse wickednesse and trechery: during which passages and doings, there was againe certaine contracts on the aforesaid conditions agreed upon, with the said Bandaneses, as in May, in the yeere 1616. by one of the Netherlands Commanders called Lam, and by their Governour Generall Laurence Reall, in the yeere 1617. which indeed were shortly after broken and violated by the Bandaneses, and that through the animating by the English, who did openly ayde and assist the foresaid Ilands, and maintained them in warrage, the Netherlands Company with victuals, and Munition, great Ordnance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from us the fruits and spices, which the Bandaneses were tyed to deliver. In this wilfulnesse the Bandaneses continued, till in June 1620. Till that at Jacatra was published both amongst the English and the Netherlands Fleet, then riding there in the Road: the treaty concluded and agreed upon, betweene his most excellent Majestie, the King of great Britaine, and the High and Mightie Lords the States generall, for to reconcile upon certaine conditions, the English and Netherlands East India Companies.

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Moluccaes; Amboyna, and Banda, all disputes and differences betweene the English and the Netherlands Company concerning the same, were to that time abolished, and a generall force of Shippes of Warre was ordained betweene them, for the defence of both Companies in their rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the Indies.

The Reduction of the wilfull Bandaneses unto the Netherlands Campe, was hindred a yeere or two, (through the actuall proceedings which the English in Banda it selfe, since the yere 1616. and afterwards in the yeere 1618. about the coast of Java, and whole India through) by open hostility did attempt: whereby the aforesaid Bandaneses being encouraged, and made bolder, did withdraw themselves wholly from under the subjection of the Castle of Nassaw, doing unto us and ours all wrong and hostility, and with-holding from us their fruits (to say) Nutmegs & Mace, which they did not onely sell unto the English, and to the Indians, but also to the Portugals, who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they seeke to make neerer alliance of friendship, as already in the great Iland named Banda, were come fiftie or threescore Portugals, who by some more assistance, considering the naturall force of the said Iland, would have beene sufficient to have deprived both the English and the Netherlands Company of the rights therein, and the fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to have any redresse.

In regard of those inconveniences, after the publication of the contract that was made, the Generall of the Netherland Company, in the common Councell for defence, (consisting of Englishmen, and Netherlanders) propounded the necessity of the taking of Banda, as also the redressing and assuring of those Quarters, and of the trade in Amboyna and Moluccaes, to the which end, both the Companies according to the contract were bound together, to use all the force and power that he could, for the preservation of the places, as much as concerned the trade, for both

the Companies. And it appeareth by the Act made by those of the said Counsell for defence, bearing date the first of January 1621. stilo nova, that the English Committees there declared, that the necessities of the businesse was well knowne unto them; as also that they were very willing together with us, to doe some common exploit: but for that as then, they wanted both power and meanes of men and ships, that they could not for that time furnish any thing towards the same: Whereupon, the Netherlands Governour Generall declared, that with the particular power of the Netherland Company, he would take the same in hand, and effect it in such manner, as God should be pleased to prosper his proceedings.

And to that end, upon the thirtenth of January, the Governour Generall went from Jacatra to Amboyna, where he arrived upon the fourteenth of February, and from thence went to Banda, to the Castle of Nassaw, lying in the Iland Nero, upon the seven and twentieth of February 1621. In the meane time, one of the English Counsell for defence, that had beene at Jacatra upon the first of January 1621. and was privy to the contract made, lying then in Amboyna, when the Governour Generall went from thence to Banda; sent Letters in our owne Ships to the Englishmen, lying in the small Iland Polaroon, and made knowne and discovered unto those of Banda, in what manner the Generall of the Netherland Company, intended to assaile the great Iland of Banda: & when the said Governour Generall was come to the Fort of Nassaw in Banda, he understood that the Englishmen in Polaroon, had added them of the Towne of Lantore in the great Iland of Banda, with foure Peeces of great Ordnance; and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the Generall of the Netherlands Army into Lantore Haven, should have beene let and withstood by a great battery. As also that some Englishmen, in Lantore, assisted these of Banda, ours, and (according to the contract) their enemies, both with counsell and force, encouraging them with their presence, & notwithstanding

that the said Generall required the said Englishmen of Lantore to leave the Towne, for the causes and reasons [I. v. 689.] aforesaid, as also for that they themselves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Counsell of Defence, before that time might not buy any Fruit in Moluccas, Amboina, and Banda, as after the publication of the Contract they may doe, and that onely together, and in common places with the Netherlanders, yet some few of them stayed still with them of Banda our common enemies. Notwithstanding also that the Governour generall protested, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that meanes any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common enemies, from whom they should and ought to have separated themselves.

First, the Governours generall determined to assayle the great Iland of Banda on the South side, (by some called Lantore, because the principall Towne is so called) by land in a place called Luchny, and to that end caused the ship called the Hart to anchor thereabouts, which lay not long there but it was shot at by an English Peece of Ordnance, whereby our men were forced to tow the said ship with a Galley from the shoare, and to leave two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or else it had beene in great danger of sinking or burning, our men assuring us, that an English Gunner had shot at them, and that they perfectly descried and saw him, although the Englishmen seeme to denie it.

Whereby altering of their first purpose, the Generall of the Netherlanders resolved to land upon the inward part of the Iland of Banda, there to encampe themselves, and then to goe up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of March, 1621. landed with seventeene Companies betweene Comber and Ortatten, they marched along the shoareside, within the reach of three Peeces of great Ordnance lent then by the Englishmen, and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our men had beene slaine, and so wee should have found no place there to

encamp our selves, but the Enemie from the Hills would have domineered over us, no man knowing what counsell to give, whereby wee might get up upon the Hills. The way whereon above three yeeres before wee had beene, being all intrenched, whereupon the Generall determined to enter againe into his ship with the whole Armie, to take another course. They of Banda not once pursuing after us, but with flouting and mocking let us goe, and so thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of us, most part of them brought their wives and children againe into Lantore. After these two enterprizes, partly hindred by the English Ordnance, were in that manner crost. The Generall, for a third resolution, determined to assayle the great Iland of Banda on both sides, that is, on the inner side of the Land with sixe Companies, and on the South side with ten Companies. That they on the inner side should land an houre before the others should land, by that meanes to draw the Enemie forth, and so to make place on the other side, while a Companie of chosen men should land on the North side, to climbe up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land should also bee in a readinesse, being three hundred and thirtie persons, whereof one hundred and fiftie were Musketiers, appointed for the manning and assuring of thirtie boats, which the said Companie would bring on the South side of the Iland.

This was effected upon the eleventh of March, and accordingly sixe Companies by breake of day, went on land betweene Comber and Ortatten. Captaine Voghel with certaine chosen Souldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found such resistance, that all their powder being spent, they were in great danger to be spoyled, but being well followed and seconded by the rest, the Enemie was forced to retire: and while this skirmish continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the said thirtie boats, went on shoare upon the South side of Banda, in a small Bay, some with Ladders, and others without, climbing up upon the Cliffes; and being gotten

up, they marched to the backeside of Lantore, without any resistance, but onely those that set upon the first Troopes, being some ten or twentie Musketiers, by whom one of our men was slaine, and foure or five hurt, whereby Lantore was taken on the South side by the said ten Companies, while the other five Companies skirmished with those of Banda upon the Hills, and as soone as Lantore was taken, those of Madiangi, Luchny, Ortatten, and Sammer, presently forsooke their Townes in the said Iland. When they of Banda saw the aforesaid thirtie boats, they thought wee would have sayled round about the Land, as wee had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were sodainly surprized by breake of day.

As soone as Lantore with the rest of the places aforesaid were won, the rest of them of Banda, namely Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, and those of the Ilands of Rosinging, and Poolaroone, made composition with us, which we granted upon condition, that they should breake downe their Forts and Walls, and give us their Shot, Peeces and Muskets, &c. Which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and promises, yeelded to hold their Countries and Lands, of the Lords the generall States of the united Netherland Provinces, promising to doe whatsoever they should be commanded, and acknowledge the said Lords the generall States for their Soveraignes, notwithstanding their former Oathes taken unto any others.

Those of Lantore and others being first overcome and vanquished, and that saved themselves among others of Banda, also asked pardon and sought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition aforesaid, though they hardly held the same, and secretly sought to begin a new rebellion, and were commanded by the Generall to shew themselves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in some other convenient place to live as fellow Citizens freely together, without the losse of their goods which they then had. Whereunto some of

them obeyed, but the greatest part fled upon the high Mountaines in the great Iland of Banda, to whom also many other Townes resorted, and slew a Netherland Merchant, one other, and a boy, where they were enclosed and
[I. v. 690.] hindred from victuals by our men. By this meanes all the Townes and Places in Banda were won, and made sure, onely Poolaroone, which was not medled withall, because they of Banda therein behaved themselves peaceably, for the ayde, or rather the service of those of Poolaroone. The Englishmen planted nine Peeces of Ordnance upon a small Iland in Poolaroone, having intrenched the same: and when those of Poolaroone, according to the composition, were to yeeld up their Armes, and disarme themselves, as they willingly did; yet our Generall did not once speake of those nine Peeces of Ordnance standing in the said small Iland, because the Englishmen should have no cause to make any question, that our men had done any thing against their Fort or men.

The English Commander, Humfrey Fitz-Herbert, with his ship called the Exchange, lying before the Castle of Amboina, and having intelligence of the Generall of the Netherlands victorie in Banda, shot off fourteene Peeces of Ordnance for Joy thereof.

This that is formerly declared, is the true state and proceedings of that, which hath beene done now lately, and before in the Iland of Banda, wherein nothing hath beene done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforesaid Contract, made, and promised to bee holden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the English Companie, agreed upon with the Companie of the Netherland) might and ought to have beene done.

§. II.

An Answere to the Hollanders Declaration concerning the occurrents of the East India, contracted somewhat briefer then in the former Impression.

THere was of late two Currents published, bearing date: the one, the eight of Februarie: the other, the eight and twentieth. In these two Currents sundrie, both incredible and intolerable wrongs and grievances were made knowne, which the Hollanders of the East Indies had inflicted and enforced upon the English Companie of the East Indies. Since the printing of these two Currents, the Hollanders have published a Pamphlet, entituled, A declaration of the Affaires of the East Indies. This declaration was published (as by the discourse may appeare) in answere of the two Currents above mentioned, for the whole scope of the declaration tendeth to no other end, but to justifie their owne right in the East Indies, and thereupon to charge the English with wrongs done to them, that thereby the world might be made beleeve, that whatsoever extremities or hard measures they offered to the English, they were urged and provoked thereunto by the unjust dealing of the English, and the wrongs first offered by them: howsoever the English provoked the Hollanders in India, the Hollanders by this Declaration, doe urge and provoke the English to defend themselves against so false and fabulous slanders imposed upon them. Is it not too much that the Hollanders most unjustly oppressed us in India, but that they must proceed further to slander us in England. Majora sunt famæ & fidei damna, quam quæ sarciri possunt: The losse of a good name, the losse of trust and credite are losses irrecoverable. But thankes be to Almightie God, who doth alwayes protect the innocent. This Declaration of the Hollanders intended and published for our utter undoing and disgrace, offereth unto us, in two respects, both hope and helpe,

thankes be to Almightie God, who hath converted Hamon his Galhouse intended against Mordocheus, to his owne confusion, like as he hath suffered you to publish a Declaration to cut your owne throats. What could you devise to write and publish, more opposite to what you intended; more to disgrace your selves, in convincing you of falshood; more to honour, acquit, and cleere the English, then this Declaration? All which shall manifestly appeare in the examination of your Declaration, which followeth.

To begin with the very first lines and page; you affirme, That all the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August, 1609. were by a speciall Treatie and agreement made with the Orankayas the Magistrates of the Ilands, put under the protection of the States of the Netherlands: how untrue this is, let all men judge; when as you confesse in the latter end of the first page,* and in the beginning of the second, were afterward broken and violated; and that the Ilanders with-held their Fruits and Spices, that they enforced and robbed their Ware-houses, murthered at sundrie times and places, divers of the principall Officers, Committies, and Servants of the Netherlands companie, taking away their ships and provision, what could the Hollanders say lesse then to pretend an agreement? and what or how could alledge and prove more directly to convince themselves of untruth then so plainely and largely confesse the recited hostilities, practised by the Bandaneses against them: what an agreement could this be, where there was so great an aversion of the Ilanders minds, declared by the hostile deeds which they practised against the Hollanders; they might perhaps say there was a Treatie, but such hostile practices manifestly prove there could be no Agreement.

*Understand the pages as they lie in the former impression.

The Hollanders proceed further, from the yeere 1609. [I. v. 691.] to the yeere 1616. where they spake of another Agreement concluded in May, by one of the Netherlanders Commanders called Lam. And another Agreement made by their Governour generall called Reall, in the yeere

1617. which they confesse were both shortly after broken by the Bandaneses: but how? Heere commeth in the maine matter; The Bandaneses rebelled through the animating of the English, who did openly ayde and assist them with Victuals, Munition, great Ordnance, Men, and Ships. It were necessarie that the Hollanders should set down the causes which moved the English to joyne so farre with the Bandaneses, for the causes doe either lessen or aggravate the charge imposed upon the English: they must either say, the English ayded the Bandaneses directly against the Hollanders without further respect, which they cannot prove; or they must alledge, which themselves in their Declaration doe prove, that the English did endeavor to defend them with whom they had free trade and trafficke; who lovingly and with free consent sold to the English their Spices, &c. who put themselves under the protection of the English; who yeelded the Ilands of Poolaway, Poolaroone, and Lantore, under the obeysance of the King of England: which if they would they cannot denie, for they confesse that the English had mounted Ordnance upon all these Ilands: why should the English plant their Ordnance upon these Ilands, but to defend their Right; how could the English plant their Ordnance upon the Ilands, but with free consent of the Bandaneses; at what time did the English plant their Ordnance in these Ilands of Banda? The Hollanders confesse, before they came to the Ilands; for they found them in the Ilands: now, where is the wrong that the English have done the Hollanders? and in what? because the English did hinder the agreements so often made betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandaneses, why for eleven yeeres the Hollanders confesse there was never any, as in the third page they say: In this wilfulnesse did the Bandaneses continue till in June, 1620. Thus hitherto it is plainly acknowledged, the Hollanders never had any landing, any Castle or Fort, any trading in the Ilands of Banda, but what was gotten by force and absolute constraint: If the Hollanders could prove so much for themselves, as they doe for the English;

the English then might have blushed for shame. In all this time that the Hollanders maintayned hostilitie with the Bandaneses, there is no mention made, that the Bandaneses ever offered any opposition against the English, or once denied them their Spices, but that they had trade and trafficke with them freely and friendly: now, if consent and prescription of time be the best claime the Hollanders would have for the Ilands of Banda, why the Englishmen goe farre beyond them; the Bandaneses did never violate any agreement made with the English; they never kept any pretended agreement made with the Hollanders; the Englishmen in eleven yeeres were never expelled; the Hollanders in all that time were never entertayned, but in all hostile manner; the Englishmen had offer at all times of Nutmegs and Mace; so had the Hollanders never at any time, but what they got by violence and compulsion; all which is acknowledged in the third page, and the beginning of the fourth. We passe over many acknowledgements and confessions of the Hollanders, because they all tend but to two ends; to justifie themselves, and condemne the English; and because there is sufficient observation given, that in justifying themselves, they disgrace themselves; and in practising to disgrace the English, they doe them great honour. But to deale plainely and truely, not to abuse the world with untruths, nor to wrong the Hollanders without cause, we doe confesse; The Bandaneses made one famous agreement with the Hollanders, which we well remember, even in that yeere in which they report they had made agreement with the Bandaneses. In June, 1609. after they had by force taken from them a Towne called Neara, and making them flee to the backside or the Coast, to a place which they called Nassaw: Van Hoofe the Generall made shew of love and friendship with the Bandaneses; which they perceiving, and desirous to revenge the wrongs and cruelties offered unto them by the Hollanders, did dissemble their intents, entertayning Van Hoofe with vaine hopes, promising him to come to

some agreement; by which meanes they drew Van Hoofe with threescore or more of his Commanders and Souldiours, unto a place in which the Bandaneses had advantage. Now instead of agreement, in warlike manner they set upon Van Hoofe, and slew him and almost his Companie. This is the best agreement that wee ever knew or heard the Bandaneses ever made with the Hollanders, during eleven or twelve yeeres. Presently after this, in July after, Captaine Bitter who among all the Commanders escaped, when Van Hoofe was slaine, attempted to surprize another Towne called Slamma; he was fought withall by the Bandaneses, and wounded in the thigh, of which wound he shortly died.

Where is now any wrong which the English hath done the Hollanders, except it bee a wrong to maintaine them, who with free and generall consent put themselves under the protection of the King of England? or a wrong to defend them, who willingly trafficke and trade with the English; or a wrong to maintaine that right which the Hollanders acknowledge the English had in the Iland of Banda: These bee all the wrongs which the Hollanders doe or can charge the English withall.

But now on the other side, what extreme wrongs doe the English charge upon the Hollanders? In two Currents printed the eight of Februarie, and the twentie eight, 1622. the Hollanders are charged with most barbarous and inhumane wrongs done to the English, all which they passe over in their Declaration without any [I. v. 692.] answere at all, whereby in silence they cannot but pleade guiltie: to confesse them they are ashamed, and to denie them they cannot, but in their accustomed pollicie they seeke to avoyd them by way of insinuation, that the English deserved them in ayding and assisting the Bandaneses against them.

There were two Orators of Athens very great and inward friends, before the Judges; the one did accuse, the other defend a Magistrate of Athens; whereupon the one Orator did challenge the other that he had dealt very

unkindly with him to defend his mortall enemie; and thou as unkindly with me, quoth the other, to accuse my deerest friend.

This is just the like challenge betwixt the Hollanders and the English: Why doe you say the Hollanders defend our greatest enemies? And why doe you say the English oppose against our deerest friends? Yet in this challenge there is a difference: for the English have more cause to defend their friends, then the Hollanders have cause to oppose against their enemies; Englishmen have a right by consent, Hollanders have nothing but constraint. Just defence is more honest and honourable then unjust opposition is, either by Lawes of God or man warrantable.

To proceed on with the cruell and inhumane wrongs, done by the Hollanders to the English, by so much more barbarous and inhumane, by how much the English of all Nations in the world, did least deserve it. What, deserve any hard measures from the Hollanders? To what Nation under the Coape of Heaven, are they so much bound as to the English? Who hath fostered and nursed them up to this greatnesse, but the English? What Nation hath shed so much bloud, lost the lives of so many gallant Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, to ayde and defend them as the English?

What Nation hath lent them, and spent upon them so much money and treasure, as the English have done, when they were in their extremest weaknesse and povertie? When, and where did the English ever fayle them? If for these causes, the English have deserved at the Hollanders hands, to have their ships taken, and made prize, their goods confiscate, and converted to their owne uses; their Captaines, Souldiers, Factors, and Mariners, taken prisoners, held in miserable servitude, clogged with yrons, kept in stockes, bound hand and foot, tied to stakes, haling and pulling them with ropes about their neckes, spurning them like dogs, throwing them headlong downe rockes and clifts, killing, murthering, starving, and pining them

to death, enforcing them to carrie lime and stone for their buildings. Landing them amongst the Pagan people, without all provision whatsoever, exposing them to the mercie of Miscreants, of whom notwithstanding they found better usage then of the Hollanders. When as the Hollanders robbed and spoyled other Nations under the English Colours, pretending (to disgrace the English) that they were Englishmen, counterfeiting the Coyne of other Nations, charging the English with the same. Laying the English whom they held as prisoners above hatches, where the Sunne scorched them in the day, and where their ordures and pisse fell upon them in the night, till they grew more lothsome and filthie then Lepers, barring the English, as much as in them lay, from all commerce and trade in the Indies. As all these particulars are directly to be proved by men yet living, who either indured, or their eyes saw what is here reported, and will be readie upon all occasions, either with their lives or oathes to justifie for truth, what they have indured, and what they have seene with their eyes.

Let all the world judge, whether Englishmen have deserved these usages at the Hollanders hands: Whereas some people either affected to the Hollanders, or thinking it too strange and monstrous, that Christians should domineere over Christians with such inhumane and barbarous cruelty, rather tyrannie, except the English had provoked them heavily thereunto.

Let all such who harbour any such conceits, read and consider what is before answered to such objections: the Hollanders in their Declaration being charged in the two first Currents, with many of these extreme wrongs inflicted upon the English, they make no deniall of them: make a challenge that the English did ayde and assist the Bandaneses against them; it hath formerly beene alleaged, and sufficiently proved, by their owne confession, that the English did not maintaine the Ilanders, by way of opposing the Hollanders; but they did as much as in them lay, to defend the right of the King of England, they did

defend that right which they had by consent; they did defend that People, who did so freely and friendly trade and trafficke with them; other causes then their so honest, so just, agreeing with the Lawes of God, of Nature, and Nations, they neither doe nor can alledge any.

Some other inconsiderate people, who envie the prosperitie of the East Indian Merchants will further say, to close with the Hollanders, that these extremities were offered in India onely, and no where else to the English; for proofe of the contrarie, wee of the East Indian Companie doe challenge all the Merchants which travaile or trafficke East, West, North, or South, to deliver their knowledge, what indignities they have indured from the Hollanders, in Turkey, in the Straights, in Muscovie, in Groynland, at New-found-land, and where not; so that not onely the East Indian Companie hath onely cause to complaine: yea, they wrong Englishmen in their owne Seas at home, as is generally knowne. Now, because Hollanders may say, that they are charged with generalities without particular instances; generall speeches being a [I. v. 693.] common cause to aggravate causes, and be avoyded except the Generall bee proved by particulars, because they shall find that we cannot want of particulars out of infinite, there shall bee here following delivered, some by men yet living, who have both seene them, and endured them.

§. III.

Relations and Depositions touching the Hollanders brutish and cruell usage of the English.

IN the Roade of Patany in the East Indies, the seventeenth of July, 1619. the two ships called the Samson and the Hound, riding there at Anchor, three ships of the Netherlands set upon them with might and mayne, after five houres fight, eleven of the men in the Samson were slaine out-right, and five and thirtie men of the same ship were wounded, maymed and dismembred, at this time Captaine Jordan was Captaine of the

Samson, and did hang up a flagge of Truce, and withall sent Thomas Hackwell, Master of the Samson to the Netherlanders to parlee about a peace.

The Examination of Thomas Hackwell, the five and twentieth of January, 1621.

Thomas Hackwell being sworne and examined upon certaine Articles ministred on the behalfe of the Right Worshipfull, the English Company of Merchants, trading to the East India aforesaid, saith and deposeth thereto, as followeth.

TO the first of the said Articles he saith, & deposeth by charge of his oath, that in the road of Patany in the East India, upon the seventeenth day of July, 1619. last past, the Samson, whereof this Examinant was Master, and the Hound belonging to the English Company, were forceably assaulted by three ships of the Hollanders (viz.) The Angell, the Morning Starre, and the Burgarboate, whereof Hendricke Johnson was Commander, and after five Glasses fight two houres and a halfe, eleven of the said ship the Samson, her men beeing slaine out-right, five dismembred, and about thirtie otherwise wounded, Captaine Jordane being then in the said ship, the Samson, and Commander of her, caused a flagge of truce to be hung out; and sent this Examinant in the Samsons Boate aboord the Flemmings, to treate with them for a peace, and at the hanging out of the said flagge of truce, and when this Examinant left the said Captaine Jordane to goe aboord the Flemmings, he was well; but above halfe an houre after the said flagge of truce was so hung out, and this Examinant was in parlee with the Flemmings about the said peace, Captaine Jordane not expecting any violence from the Flemmings during the said parlee, shewed himselfe aboord the Samson before the maine Mast upon the gratings, where the Flemmings espying him, most treacherously and cruelly shot at him with a Musket, and shot 1.

him into the bodie neere the heart, of which wound hee dyed within halfe an houre after. And this he saith by charge of his Oath.

2. To the second he saith, That after the said ships, the Samson and the Hound were surprised by the Hollanders in the said fight at Patany, as aforesaid, the greatest part of their men, by the command of the Dutch, were brought aboord the Angell their Admirall: and there notwithstanding, divers of them in the said fight were much burnt with Gun-powder, and wounded with splinters, and thereby suffered miserable torment, yet they the said Dutch most unchristianly and inhumanely caused and forced them to put their legges downe through the gratings, and so seized them, and tyed them to the Capsten Barres, insomuch that still as any man had occasion to goe and ease himselfe, his legges were so swelled by reason of the extraordinary hard tying of them, that the Carpenter was alwayes fetched to make bigger the holes, at which they were put downe to get out their legges againe. And this hee saith by charge of his Oath is most true.

3. To the third he saith, That he knoweth that the Dutch at Jacatra, doe cause all China men, residing and bartering there, to pay monethly sixe shillings upon a head, or else you shall not sell any commoditie there to the English and this he hath seene divers of China men pay at Jacatra.

4. To the fourth he saith, That upon the third day of March last was twelve moneth, aboord the new Zealand then riding in Bantam Roade, this Examinant, with three or foure others, did heare one Clase Derickson, then upper stearsman of the Dutch ship called the Southern-Indraught say, that the States in Holland had beene plotting that Warre betweene the English and the Dutch in the Indie seven yeares before.

[I. v. 694.] To this last Article is witnesse,

Thomas Hackwell. William Shaples. Henry Backtasell. Bartholomew Churchman. Anthony Piccot.

The Deposition of Bartholomew Churchman.

I doe affirme, that they have many times termed us slaves to the King of Holland, and that we should all be sent to the Moluccas to rowe in their Gallies, and so bee kept bond-slaves under them during our lives.

More I affirme, that they have kept twelve of us in a Dungeon at Pooloway, and foure and twentie at Amboyna, by the command of Laurence Riall then Generall, but now returned into Holland, where they pist and ( ) upon our heads, and in this manner we lay, untill such time as we were broken out from top to toe like Leapers, having nothing to eat but durtie Rice, and stinking raine-water, insomuch as if it had not beene for a Dutch woman, named Mistris Cane, and some poore Blackes that brought us a little fruit, we had all starved in that place, as many of our Company did, besides the extremitie which they used to many others which they had in Prison at other Ilands wher they perished, leaving their Wives and Children heere in England readie to starve for want of maintenance.

The names of the ten men which lay in Pooloway, are these:

Bartholomew Churchman. Jacob Lane. Kellam Throgmorton. Matthew Willis. William Burris. Cassarian David. George Jackson. George Pettice. Walter Stacy. Richard Phillips.

At Amboyna, Richard Swanley, William Brookes, and twelve more, whose names I well know not, nor cannot remember, put into a Dungeon, with fortie Indians all in a hole, having no place to ease themselves.

Bartholomew Churchman.

The last of October, 1617. John Tucker affirmeth: That the Dutchmen tooke the Dragon, the Expedition, the Beare, and the Rose, and delivered onely the Rose, and that there being in the Dragon a Present from the

King of Achen for the King of England, called by them a Creeze, (that is to say) a Dagger, which they doe detayne to this houre.

This is true, I under-written doe affirme, and testifie that it was not done by base Rogues (as they terme it) but some of the principall Commanders. John Tucker.

After the taking of these ships, there were above three hundred and fiftie men set out of the foure ships which were on shoare, exposed unto the mercie of the Indians, where they found more courtesie then of the Hollanders, otherwise they had all perished.

That all these abuses, and many more which wee have formerly received by them, are true, we will maintayne upon our oathes, and with our lives against any of their Nation, or others that shall gain-say this truth. Yet notwithstanding all this being (by the goodnesse of Almightie God) returned into our owne Country, we have no satisfaction for these intollerable injuries, nor any consideration for two thirds of our wages most barbarously kept from us.

Articles of abuses done by the Hollanders at the Iland of Moluccas, and other places of the East Indies, aswell against our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Majestie; as also against us, and other Englishmen, since the yeare of our Lord, 1616. not only before the Peace, but also since, untill the moneth of March 1620. that we came out of the Indies, in the good Ship called the James.

1 THe second day of the moneth of February, in the yeare of the Lord, 1616. the Swanne was surprized and taken by the Hollanders, at the Ilands of Banda, and her men kept Prisoners till the eight and twentieth of Aprill following. At which time the Hollanders carryed five and twentie of the English to the Moluccas, where they were very hardly and inhumanely used, being fettered and shackelled in the day time, and close locked up at

nights. And from the moneth of May, untill the end of September, they were compelled to carrie stone and lime for the building of Forts there; which if any refused to doe, they were kept in Stockes and Irons till they would worke; and were notwithstanding also very hardly used for their victuals, insomuch that the one halfe of them dyed through their hard usage.

2. When we were first taken, we were possessed of divers goods, provisions, and meanes, wherewith to relieve our selves, which they presently tooke from us, and left us not so much as wherewith to cover our bodies.

Whereof when we complayned to John Ellias, who was Lieutenant to one Garret Derickson in the Trow, hoping that he would have had some commiseration of our miseries, and long lying in Irons, bad usage for want of meate, drinke, lodging, and other things: The said Ellias and the rest of his Company did thereupon, and many other times say unto us, That hee cared not for us, nor for any of our Countreymen; and that if they should take us and hang us up, wee had our deserts: Yea, they used other grosse and base speeches, not fit to be spoken off. [I. v. 695.] *Here divers words are omitted as too odious against filthy fumes of Dutch Drinke.*

3. We affirme, that the said John Ellias and his Companie said, that they had little need of Englishmen; for they in Holland were able of a sudden to make and furnish twentie foure thousand of flat-bottomd Boats, such as Parma would have landed upon the English shoare in eightie eight. And also said, that they had of their owne Nation and Countreymen, at the least fortie thousand strong in England, that presently, upon the least occasion, would rise in Armes, and bend their forces speedily against us in our owne Countrey.

4. We affirme, that Laurence Riall, who was their Generall, caused Grates and Cages to bee made in their ship, and did put us therein, and carryed us in them bound in Irons from Port to Port amongst the Indians, and thus in scornfull and deriding manner and sort spake unto the Indians, as followeth: Behold and see, heere is the people

of that Nation, whose King you care so much for. But now you may hereby plainly behold how kindly wee use his Subjects; making them beleeve that Englishmen were their Vassals and Slaves.

Besides all this, they kept many of us fast bound and fettered in Irons, in most loathsome and darke stinking Dungeons, and gave us no sustenance, but a little durtie Rice to eate, and a little stinking raine-water to drinke. So that many of our English fainting in their sights, for want of competent sustenance or other lodging at their hands: for want whereof many dyed, who were fetcht out of the Dungeons, and so basely buried, more like Dogges then Christians.

5. About the fift of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. we having over-passed many hungrie dayes, and cold nights Lodging, in cold Irons and darke Dungeons, and thinking it not possibly able for us to endure those miseries any longer, made meanes that some of us came to John Peter Socoma, their Generall that now is, and desired his Lordship (which Title hee duly lookes for in the East Indies) that he would consider of our extreame wants and miseries, and helpe us to some better sustenance. And further we desired him, that he would be so much our friend, as to ease us of our Irons but for the day time: Whereupon the said Generall most wickedly replyed with base speeches, and bade us bee gone, and trouble him no more; for if wee did, hee would cause us all to be hanged speedily. So that we were forced to returne from whence wee came with heavie hearts, having no hope but in the Almightie, to whom wee prayed to turne their hearts, and to release us of our miseries.

Japara, the crueltie there.

6. Upon the thirteenth of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. the Dutch went ashoare at Japara; and there they wickedly and maliciously burnt downe the Towne and the English House there, and from thence forcibly tooke away the English Flagge, and in great disdaine of our Countrey trayled our Flagge after them in the dirt through the Towne, and towed it aboord their ship at their Boats

sterne; but what they did with it afterwards, we know not.

Upon the eighteenth day of the moneth of November, and in the yeare of our Lord God, 1619. they tooke one Bartholomew Churchman, and clapt him up in Irons, and set him where he sate in the raine and cold stormes of the night, and in the day time where the hot Sunne shone upon him, and scorched him, without any shelter at all: and this they did to him, only because hee strucke a base fellow that spake such words against our late Queene Annes Majestie, as are not fit to be repeated: which words, as also divers other which they spake against our dread Soveraigne, we dare not relate, as being too odious to be used in a subjects mouth touching his Prince: Howbeit, might licence and freedome of speech bee granted us, to make knowne the base slanderous and detracting speeches of that Nation against our King and Country, that wee might not incurre any danger of his Majesties displeasure by the repeating them, it would sufficiently make knowne the pride and crueltie of that people, who did not then let to say that they made no account of our King, nor any of his subjects. 7.

The seventeenth day of the moneth of March, and in the yeare of our Lord God everlasting, 1619. their Governour of the Moluccas gave order for the release of the English there, and appointed thirtie of them to be carried to Amboynas, from thence to be sent into England or Holland. But the Governour of Amboynas, perceiving them to bee arrived, hee utterly refused to discharge them, and forced them to serve in their three ships, that went to the Manelees as men of warre, which if any refused to doe, they were to rowe in their Gallies chained like unto slaves; in which Voyage to the Manelees, fourteene of our men went in the Saint Michael, which were lost, and never since heard on, whose names doe follow: George Trigges, John Edwards, James Welch, John Crocket, William Nichols, Robert Gilbert, Matthew Gilbert, Giles Lipscombe, Arthur Tap, Edward Parker, William 8. *Amboynas crueltie.*

Vese, John King, John Over, and William Smith Chirurgion.

9. We affirme, that they having Arrian Ellis, Edward Reade, and William Powell, three Englishmen Prisoners, in their ship called the Bantam, they chained them in Irons, and layed them in the Beake-head, straitly prohibiting all others to come neere them, to give them any other food then their allowance, which was so small that meere hunger compelled those three Prisoners to throw the Dice who should cut each others throat; and so they did throw the [I. v. 696.] Dice to that end, but were disclosed before any of them were slaine, so that they were thereupon sundred, and sent into other ships.

10. They have taken our men, and without any cause have stripped and whipped them openly in the Market place; they have also beaten up their Drumme, and called the Blackes together to see it done.

11. They will not suffer us to weare or spread in our English houses, in those parts where they have any command, any Colours that are our Kings Colours.

The Copie of a Letter sent unto the Dutch in the East Indies, from their English Captives at the Iland of Monoboca, the nineteenth day of March, 1618. and delivered unto Captaine William Johnson Commander of the Angell.

CONsideration in things of difficultie is requisite: and therefore much requisite in these our unchristian-like miseries. But because this hath beene but sleightly respected, wee are now resolved to tell you of all your perfidiousnesse. First, Grippe got advantage to surprize our ships, and made a vow, not to touch life nor goods in any sort. But since the contrarie hath beene so much proved, that Grippe and his confederates are now seene to be forsworne, as shortly after their actions did shew, in taking away even those things, which with their consent we did save, and bring aboord your ship called the Trow.

At that time we being indungeoned at Pooloway, (besides all the Pagan-like usage of that cruell man, Laurence Riall) we were by Van Hoofe kept in such extreme miserie with stinking water, and Rice halfe full of stones and dirt (scarce able to keepe life and soule together) that had not Derrickson van Lam granted the English at Poolaroone free accesse to Pooloway to bring us reliefe, wee had beene all ere this time starved for want. But we passed away that time in expectation of better fortunes, which you have all from time to time promised: yet now againe our miseries are thrice redoubled; for since we came to this place, you have not onely used us most basely in other things, but also have taken away from us even that poore sustenance, which we bought with our moneys: and this hath beene done by that envious man the Master, whom your Commanders doe suffer to be their Commander, rather then their Inferiour. If you consider all his actions, the refreshing which we have bought hath beene but small; that is to say, foure small Hennes and Cockes, and even them hath the Master taken away, and eaten them in the great Cabbin, which dealing of his, if it be Christian-like, we referre it to your owne discretion: and now at last, for a small cause or nothing at all, to be thus handled, is a ten times worse affliction, then ever was inflicted upon us, for to chaine us up like so many Dogs, and to let us lie in the raine and storms of the night, without any shelter, which is also brought to passe by the Master. For (Commander) * we considering your gentlenesse, so that you can dispense with rigour: Therefore that miserie that we indure is not by your meanes, but by the Masters, and theirs that bee of his mind: and this is of a truth, that even your Hogs after their kind, lye a-nights dryer then we after our kind, being Christians: and our griefe is the more, because your men of the Blacke Lion, being taken by our English, were used like men, and we like abjects of the world, to be thus used like dogs, being Subjects to the Kings Majestie of England, and in good respect with our Employers. But God that is above all, knowes all;

A sop for Cerberus.

and in his good time will remedie all. Thus much we have thought good to certifie unto you, not in the way of intreaty, for that we see is vaine, but only that you may know, we now never looke to come alive out of your hands: for by all manifest appearance, you seeke to take even our lives from us: and this shall be a true argument of our grieved hearts, witnessing to all men, how unchristian-like we have beene and are used by you; for in all this we have not expressed the tenth part of your cruelty; yet we hope, that for this time it shall be a sufficient light unto you, for that which hath beene from time to time practised by you against the English. Given at the Iland of Monaboca, the nineteenth of March, 1618.

Subscribed by Cassarian David, Bartholomew Churchman, and George Pettys.

Upon the receit of this Letter, wee three afore-named were layed in yrons for eighteene moneths following, with such barbarous usage as is not to bee imagined to bee used amongst Christians.

Upon the newes of the taking of our two ships called the Samson and the Hound in Patania Road, Hendricke Janson the Commander of three ships, viz. the Angell, the Morning Starre, and the Burger-boat, sent a Letter by the upper Steres-man of the Starre, (who had but one arme) to their Generall John Peter Sacone then at Jacatra, of the taking of our two ships; He, the said Sacone then said, you have now, Hendricke Janson, given me good satisfaction, in that Captaine Jordayne is dead: and at his returne thither gratified him with fourteene hundred Gilders in a chaine of gold, putting it himselfe about his necke, not leaving any one unrewarded, that had beene at the taking of our two ships, and one hundred Pieces of [I. v. 697.] eight to him that shot him, notwithstanding our Flag of truce was hung out. Wee affirme also that the said Generall John Peter Sacone upon the newes brought him by a ship called the Hart, from the Coast of Carmandele, of

the death of Sir Thomas Dale, then said; Dale is dead, and Jordaynes blood I have, if I had George Cockins life to, I were then satisfied.

An Answere to objections made by the Hollanders, that the English were the cause of the first breach in the East Indies.

WHereas the Hollanders affirme that Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were the prime cause of all the differences betwixt the two Companies. This wee affirme and can proove, that both Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were both in England when the Defence and the Swan were taken; and also that very inhumanly they tooke the Defence,* when for reliefe being put from their Anchor at Poolaroone in a storme, they came into one of their Harbours for succour. They tooke the ship, and detayned her men prisoners; likewise in rescue, we following, they tooke a Pinnasse of ours called the Speed-well; going to Jacatra, one of our men they slew, and the rest they layed in Irons as prisoners, amongst which one Richard Tayler Carpenter of the said Pinnasse, who at that time had the bloody fluxe, who dying in their hands in Irons, they tooke the dead carkasse of the said deceased, and put him into a bush, with his head downward, and his heeles upward, and said in most barbarous manner, that there was a Stert-man, (that is, a man with a tayle) with his heeles upward; and there his carkasse rotted in the bush. 1616. *Febr.* 2. 1617.

**See the story before (suspected somewhat otherwise) by Spurway and Courthop.*

I would demand of them where Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were, when they tooke the Salomon and the Attendance, it is to be proved, they were then comming out of England, hardly cleere of the Coast, when they tooke both these ships, upon faire terms of Composition; namely, with promise to give us our lives, goods, and libertie. They robbed us of all our goods, and kept us in lamentable manner in Irons, some of us three yeers, some more, some lesse: in which wofull miserie many of 1619. 25. *March.*

our Companie ended their dayes lamentably; for in trueth, they never kept any faith, oath, or promise with us at all, but most proudly, disdainfully, and cruelly demeaned themselves towards us.

BARTHOLOMEW CHURCHMAN.

Chap. XIII.

A pithie Description of the chiefe Ilands of Banda and Moluccas, by Captaine Humphrey Fitz-Herbert in a Letter to the Companie.

Right Worshipfull,

IT remaineth that before I leave these Easterne parts, I note unto you some particulars observed this Voyage in Banda, Amboyna, and the Moluccas: which although I easily beleeve are well knowne unto you alreadie, yet as of the letters of the Alphabet well knowne to all men, many unknowne words be composed; so these noted things, either in respect of the time, the matter, or the manner of the deliverie, may bring some thing againe to your necessarie remembrance, to your wise fore-knowledge, or to your further consideration. Leaving Japparra and Macassar, I will betake my selfe to the barrenest place of the Iles of Banda, that is, to Gonahpee, at the top yeelding nothing but cinders, fire, and smoake; on the surface below, woods without water or fruit for the sustenance of the life of man: neverthelesse being severed from the Iland Nero but by a very small channell, they together with Lantore on the other side doe make a very fair and spacious Harbour. This Iland is very subject to Earthquakes, which doe trouble all other the Ilands also, and make the ships in the Road to totter and tremble againe. Since the surprizall of Nero by the Dutch, there being a fearefull Earthquake, the said Hill cast forth such hideous flames, such store of cinders, and huge steames, that it destroyed, burnt, and brake downe all the thicke

Gonahpee one of the Banda Ilands with a burning top.

Earthquakes.

One most hideous and horrible.

woods and mightie trees, overwhelming them as it were her owne vomiting, so that a greene leafe could not be seene in all that part of the Iland: nor did Nero escape these hellish blasts, which blew these steames and cinders into the Castle and Countrey neere adjoyning, in such abundance, that it invited all men that saw it to her funerall, burnt up all the fruit trees, and covered all the Countrey about it, and had like to have sunke the ships in the road. It is credibly reported by those that saw it, the violence was so great, that it carried stones of three or foure tunnes weight from the one Iland into the other, and into the Road.

The Castle Nera standeth close on the water-side in the plaine, it is faire, large, and strongly built; but weakly situate, by reason of the rising of the hill to the landward: within lesse then Musket shot it hath a hillocke higher then it by at the least twentie fathome, which doth command it at pleasure. To prevent which mischiefe, the Dutch have built thereon a small Fort, but in vain, the same being under command of another, aswell as the former. The Castle is a matter of great charge, both in respect of it selfe, as also in respect of the Souldiers; and altogether unnecessarie, but for dwelling houses and Magazines; the other Fort being great enough, and strong enough for the defence of this place. Here is in this Castle about fortie Peeces of Ordnance; in the other, some eight or ten, the most of brasse. The Dutch have not received the fruit of this Iland since their comming thither, being alwayes over-mastered by the Blackes, both by sea and land: but the gayning of Lantore hath made all things quiet now. I pray God make it profitable hereafter. [I. v. 698.] *Nera.* *Castle weakly situate.*

Lantore is the greatest and richest Iland of all the Iles of Banda, strong, and almost inaccessible, as it were a Castle: there is scarce a tree on the Iland but beareth fruit. The Bandaneses left it for want of militarie pollicie: but he must have a polliticke pate (I beleeve) that gayneth it againe. The Towne is situate on the brow of a sharpe *Lantore.*

hill, the ascent as difficult as by a ladder: while they stood peevishly to the defence thereof to the Roadwards, the Dutch landed with much adoe on the other side of the Iland, and surprised them at unawares. Right over the Towne the Dutch have built a Fort on the top of the hill to prevent the like inconveniences, as also to keepe the same in better subjection. It is but small, and while I was there, the foundation scarcely finished. If the English had come thither a moneth or sixe weekes before the Dutch made this spitefull expedition, I dare avouch it, they might have neere laden the best ship your Worships have in India with Nutmegs and Mace from these Ilands.

Pooloway.

Pooloway is the Paradice of all the rest, entermitting pleasure with profit. There is not a tree on that Iland but the Nutmeg, and other delicate Fruits of superfluitie; and withall, full of pleasant walkes, so that the whole Countrey seemes a contrived Orchard with varieties. They have none but raine-water, which they keepe in Jarres and Cisternes, or fetch it from the above-named Ilands, which is their onely defect. The sea shoare is so steepe, that it seemeth, Nature meant to reserve this Iland particularly to her selfe. There is but one place about the whole Iland for a ship to anchor in; and that so dangerous, that he that letteth fall his Anchor seldome seeth the weighing of it againe: besides hee incurreth the imminent dangers of his ship. How this Iland was won by Derricke Lam, or lost by Captaine Castleton, I cannot well relate. It hath on the Easterne side a faire and strong Castle, a regular Pentagonon well fortified, and furnished with all manner of provisions and Souldiers, and is held to bee the strongest Castle the Dutch have in the Indies, and the most pleasant residence.

None but rain water.
The Castle.
Poolaroone.
**Coen the chief Commander of the Dutch in the Indies, whose fastigious Titles may seeme fastidious to an eye not altogether evill: and follow, as I have seene a copie of them, I know not whether needing a Democritus or Heraclitus; whether to be ranked with*

Poolaroone (in imitation of her sisters the other Ilands) is turned Dutch. There was in her neither pleasure nor profit, yet the ambitious King Coen * hath made a con-

T. Coriat, sup. l. 4. c. 17. or with some of the long-stiled Emperours. Besides these Ilands of Banda here named, are reckoned Rosinging, P. Maon, P. Capal, P. Sangy, Neilackey &c.

quest of her chastitie. The Civill Law denieth a violent rape to be incontinencie, because although the bodie be forced, the minde may yet bee free. Recall her againe, and right this uncivill outrage by your wise and civill censure: although the benefit (which is not to be contemned) bee divided into shares, yet we hope, your Worships will keepe and enjoy to your selves the disposing and distributing alwayes of your owne.

Amboyna. A little Isthmus.

Amboyna sitteth as Queene between the Iles of Banda and the Moluccas; shee is beautified with the fruits of severall Factories, and dearely beloved of the Dutch: which the better to declare, they say they would give thirtie millions there were no Cloves but on that Iland onely. Neptune is her darling, and entertayned in her very bosome, it seemeth that the Water and the Earth are agreed together in unitie: for at the bottome of the Bay, with one hundred Pioners in seven dayes, of one Iland it may be made two. It is not above a Flights shot from full sea marke on the one side, to full sea marke on the other side: nor is the sandie Plaine raised a fathome above the of the horizon; insomuch they glide their Prawes and Coracorries by maine force from one sea to the other. It is plentifully stored with Fruit, Fish, and fresh water: nor is there any great want of Flesh. Their Vines both of Banda, Amboyna, and the Moluccas, are pruned thrice a yeere, and every prunage hath his vintage.

Three Vintages.

Raritie in Nature.

A raritie it seemeth to me, in nature, I saw in the Woods of this Iland a Plant, or Tree, or neither, or whether I shall call it, I know not, in substance much like to the bodie of our Ivie, in forme like a halser of five or sixe inches, in length five or six fathoms, bare without sprig or sprout, the one end fast in the ground, the other fixed to the limbe of a great Tree, a fathome and better distant from the bodie thereof, and so perpendicular, that it is very disputable whether it growes up from the ground, or from the limbe of the Tree to the ground: this rope is of firm solid wood without any concavitie, and yet it yeeldeth excellent good, faire and sweet water, and as

Strange spring.

fresh as from the Fountaine; nor doth it herein admit any distinction or difference, unlesse it be the more delicate, according to your companies cut more or lesse thereof, distributing every one the quantitie of two foot or thereabouts, and they shall have sufficient; for every piece will runne to the value of a pinte or thereabouts, and that in an instant; a strange refreshing to those that travaile [I. v. 699.] those high and drie mountaines, as my selfe did find by *The Castle.* good experience, the Castle of Amboyna is quadrangular, well moted and fortified with men and munition, and hath in it about Peeces of Ordnance. The Dutch have reduced into order the two rebellious Factories, and the people begin to plant anew, insomuch that they expect within these few yeeres the fruit will be to that it is at present. Your Worships shall herewith receive the Draught of this Iland, and the adjoyning Factories set out at large after the Dutch fashion, which maketh not mole-hils of Mountaines.

GreatBachan. Bachan is accounted amongst the Ilands which are more properly called the Moluccas, and is the greatest of them all; it is called great Bachan, there is another neere adjoyn- *Old Bachan.* ing called old Bachan. In great Bachan the Dutch have a Factorie and Castle, which venting some Commodities doth yeeld them Boords, Planks, and Masts for any ship whatsoever; it is the fruitfullest of all the Ilands of all the Moluccas, and the cheapest. The King keepeth neere the Castle without about three hundred persons, the rest being fled to the mountains & other Ilands. The Dutch Merchant and others told me for certain, that for want of people the Cloves lye on the ground three or foure inches thicke in some places: so as it may be truly said of this place, the Harvest is great and the gatherers few; nor *The Castle.* doe I thinke that the Dutch doe desire many. The Castle is but small yet strong enough for this place, and contayneth fourteene Peeces of Iron Ordnance, small and great, &c. This is a very good Harbour.

Machan. Machan the next in order, mounteth her tops above the Cloudes in manner of a Cone, and admits no plaines

within the circut of her Confines. It is a very fertile Iland, and yeeldeth to the Dutch the greatest Revenue of all the rest of the Moluccas Ilands. It hath three Factories with their Forts in Triangle position; the chiefest is Nossaquia which yeeldeth most Spice, but venteth lesse Merchandize. The second is Taffasoho, which venteth more Merchandize, and receiveth lesse Spice. The third is Tabbalolo, which yeeldeth lesse Spice, and venteth lesse Merchandize. The Road where the ships take in their goods is at Nossaquia; at the other places there is no riding: this Castle also is the strongest; they are all seated high above the water, and the way unto them is steepe and difficult, and therefore to the Sea-wards very strong, but to the Land-wards are commanded every way.

Nossaquia. *Taffasoho.* *Tabbalolo.*

There is in this Iland a Clove Tree differing from all other in its fruit, which is called The Kings Clove, much esteemed by the Countrey people both for the varietie, as also for the goodnesse; nor is there any other but this in all the Moluccas; they are not to be bought for any money, but are given abroad to friends by handfuls and halfe handfuls: what fell to my lot your Worships shall receive together with an exact draught of all the Dutch Castles in the Moluccas.

Strange Clove Trees.

Motyr makes haste to follow Machand, in forme, height, and fruitfulnesse; but not in her Revenues: nor is shee equall to her in greatnesse. The Dutch hath one onely Factorie upon this Iland, which is called by the same name, it yeeldeth but little fruit, and venteth lesse Merchandize: here Venus and Voluptuousnesse have their habitation through idlenesse. Thus much by the report of others, for I was not there to see it my selfe.

Motyr. *Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus.*

Tydore doth taxe the Dutch for leaving her wholy to the Spaniards, and destroying the Fort called the Marieca. This Iland is great and rich in Spice as any, but because I had not landed here, I referre you to the Draught thereof, and of Ternate, herewith sent to your Worships for further notice.

Tydore.

Ternate, the greatest of these Ilands is the seat of

Ternate.

Dissention betweene the Spaniard and the Dutch. The chiefest place for the Dutch is Malaijo, neere unto which is Tallooko, and on the Northside of the Iland is Tycoome, which should have beene destroyed with the rest. Gamolamo, Dangile and Saint Lucie are the Spanish Forts, betweene which is Calamasca seated as a Frontier Fort of the Dutch, which should also have beene destroyed; the whole both concerning the Iland and those Forts will better appeare by the Draught thereof, herewith sent your Worships inclosed in a Bamboo, &c.

Aboord the Royall Exchange in the Road of Jacatra, the 18. of October, 1621.

Your Worships to command,

HUMFREY FITZ-HERBERT.

Because the Authour calleth Coen an ambitious King, you may see the occasion of it in the Titles which hee assumeth, and are imposed on him; as I have seene them written, intituled by himselfe in his Proclamation for cessing or imposing of Customes at Jacatra, in this manner, viz.

[I. v. 700.] JOhn Peeterson Coen Governour Generall over all the Lands, Ilands, Townes, Forts, Places, Factories, Ships, Pinnasses, Shallops, and Men, as also of the whole Trade and Commerce in India, on the behalfe of the High and Mightie Lords the States generall, his Princely Excellencie, and others the priviledged Committees of the united Netherlands East India Company.

To all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting. We taking into our consideration, after the Conquest of the Kingdome of Jacatra, &c.

By the Queene of Patanie, sending her Ambassadour unto Him: He was stiled,

The great, strong, and mightie King of Jacatra, and of twelve Castles; Commander of all the Seas under the Winds, John Peeterson Coen.

A.D. c. 1620.

IF I had beene able to have given thee also those Draughts, Reader, thou shouldest have had them. But such as I have, give I unto thee; namely, this of Hondius, meane and obscure enough, but somewhat more then nothing.

I had another farre better sent out of the Indies, but partly the cost, and partly doubt to displease have detayned the publishing. [I. v. 701.]

Chap. XIIII.

Three severall Surrenders of certaine of the Banda Ilands made to the Kings Majestie of England, faithfully translated out of Malahan into English; with a Voyage also annexed of Sir Henry Middleton.

The Contents of the Surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, in Banda, to His Majestie.

This was translated by Robert Hayes, the second sent out the Indies so translated: the third by Robert Hayes.

THis Writing is for the agreement betweene all the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone also, and the English in manner as followeth, That whereas in the time that Pooloway was not yet surprized by the Hollanders, the people of Pooloway and Poolaroone had surrendred the two foresaid Ilands unto the King of England, and had given ground to Richard Hunt Merchant here, withall setting up the King of England his Flagge upon the Castle of Pooloway, and shooting off three Peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant of the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone, betweene the English and them, when they did surrender the two foresaid Ilands to the King of England, and had given ground to the English, being done before the surprize of Pooloway, eight dayes: and after that, it was taken by the Hollanders. And where as at that time there were but two Englishmen upon Pooloway, of weake defence, who beeing not able to doe the Countrey any good, went away to Poolaroone, together with the men of Pooloway in one small Praw, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the

establishing of Covenants betwixt them and the men of Poolaroone: Therefore now the two foresaid Ilands are in the hands of the King of England only according to our Surrender. But whereas at this time through the Assaults of the Hollanders, Pooloway is fallen into their hands and Possession, if it shall please his Majestie to recover it unto himselfe againe, hee shall doe therein nought but Justice, because the Inhabitants thereof have absolutely surrendred it unto Him: and if his Majesties pleasure be to the contrary, let it be as shall seeme best in his Highnesse judgement. But this is sure that we the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone, have surrendred the two foresaid Ilands unto his Majesties power and cannot goe from, or revolt our word againe even to the last day, and having linked our selves with the English in one bond to live and dye together. Furthermore all the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone doe covenant to send every yeere to the King of England a branch of Nutmegs, in token of their designes, desiring that this offer of all the Orankayas of Pooloway and Poolaroone, being once offered out of their true love unto the King of England, bee not had in oblivion or rejected.

And whereas King James by the grace of God is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, is also now by the mercy of God King of Pooloway and Poolaroone. Moreover, wee doe all of us make an agreement that the Commodities in the two foresaid Ilands, namely, Mace and Nutmegs, we cannot nor will sell to any other Nation, but only to the King of England his subjects, according to the true meaning of our Covenants and surrendring of the two foresaid Ilands to his Majestie, with all that is (in) them to be solely at his disposing, which is and shall be the reason that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the Orankayas of the two foresaid Ilands have made this agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madnesse or loosely as the breathing of the wind, but because it was concluded upon in their hearts, they cannot revolt or swerve from the same againe. More-

over, all we together doe desire of his Majestie that such thing as are not fitting in our Religion, as unreverent usage of women, mayntayning of Swine in our Countrey, forceable taking away of mens goods, misse-using of our men, or any such like that are excepted against in our Lawes, that they be not put in practice, being out of our use and custome; that they may not prove a blemish unto our Religion, and that we may receive no occasion to deale unkindly with the English. Furthermore, if any Englishman will become of our Religion, wee will accept of him upon counsell: or if any of our people will become a Christian, he shall be so likewise upon like counsell, desiring this promise that such things be not done in such manner as may breed discontent betwixt us and the English, which we doe very earnestly desire of his Majestie. Finally, at this time all the Orankayas of Pooloway and Poolaroone, doe againe make a Covenant with Nathaniel Courthop, Captaine of the two ships riding here, Sophon Cozocke, and Thomas Spurway giving ground and surrendring the two foresaid Ilands unto the King of England, being alreadie partly in the hands of Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke and Thomas Spurway; and that not only now, but as being done long since when Captaine Castleton went from Pooloway with foure ships, all the Orankayas of the two foresaid Ilands, having agreed with Richard Hunt Merchant of Pooloway, with all having set the King of England his Flagge upon the Castle of Pooloway, and shot off two peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant betweene the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, and the English: and as it hath beene done heeretofore, so at this time we doe renew it with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, and Thomas Spurway. [I. v. 702.]

Emmon Poolowaye.	Hattib Ittam.
Sabandar Poolowaye.	Hattib Pootee.
Sabandar Wratt.	Sabandar Treat.
Sabandar Poolaroone.	Emmon Lancecoe.
Sabandar Lameco.	Sabandar Locon.
Naboda Coa.	

The Surrender of Rosinging and Wayre to his Majestie.

THis writing is for the agreement betweene all the Orankayes of the Countrey of Wayre, and of the Iland of Rosinging, and the English Nation in manner as followeth, viz. That whereas, in the time that the Countrey of Banda was in trouble, by reason of their enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them, they therefore agreed with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock, and Thomas Spurway; thus much in effect, that is, that they doe surrender the Countrey of Wayre and the Iland of Rosinging, unto the King of England in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their enemies: that now the sayd Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging is onely in the power of the King of England. And whereas the agreements is once made, we the aforesaid Orankeyes cannot in our Consciences dissolve it againe, but that it shall last for ever untill the last day of doome: And that the English shall be as the men of the Countrey of Wayre in all Priviledges. Furthermore, the men of the aforesaid Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging, doe promise and agree to send unto the King of England, one branch of Nutmegges as a token of there foresaid agreement of all us the aforesaid Orankayes: on condition that the said token of our agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we dis-esteemed. And we doe wish that Almightie God would vouchsafe to give prosperitie to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: and now by the grace and mercy of God, the King of the Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging, and that more, we will stoope to no other King or Potentate, but onely unto his Majestie: and after him to all his posteritie. Furthermore, as concerning our trade, we doe all truely agree, not to sell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforesaid Countreyes, do afford to any other but onely to the King of England his subjects, because we have wholly unto him surrendred the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE ISLANDS OF EAST INDIA

foresaid two Countreys of Wayre and Rosinging, with all that therein is, or whatsoever it doth, or shall yeeld, it is the King of England his owne; and this shall stand for a reason that we cannot trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we intreat the Kings Majestie of England in earnest manner, that such things as are not befitting to our Religion, as unmannerly usage of our women, maintaining of Swine in our Countrey, beating and abusing of our men, or taking away of them perforce against their wils, as if they were their own slaves, or any other such like attempts, that are held unbeseeming in our lawes (we say) that we doe intreate his Highnesse that none of these or such like be put in practise by his subjects, because they are things disallowable in our lawes, and so being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deale unkindly with the English therefore. Moreover, if any of the English hereafter shall have an affection to be circumcised, and become as one of us, it shall be done upon sufficient Counsell betweene the rest of the English and us, or if any of us will become a Christian in that cause, the like counsell shall be held, and this shall not be done for any misdemeanour of the partie willing so to turne: because that may breed a discention betweene the English and us. And whereas this agreement was made in the presence, and by the consent of the King & Sabander, of Wayre, the Sabander of Rosinging, Emmon Hattib, and all the rest of the Orankayes, of the Countreyes of Wayre, and the Ilands of Rosinging: This shall be for a testimony that it is not done in madnesse, or in the manner of the breathing of wind; but that it was also aswell thought in our hearts, as spoken with our mouthes, and therefore we cannot, nor will goe from it againe, but that it shall so stand untill the dissolution of the world; Neither shall there any doubts rise in our hearts of any other, but that we the men of Wayre and Rosinging, are onely the Kings Majesties of England his subjects: and if any trouble hereafter doe happen in the foresaid Countreys, we will be contented

aswell to die, as to live together with the English, because we will be subject to one King, and this shall stand for a reason, that any being in league with us, shall also be in league with the English, & per contra, he that is neere the English, shall be neere us, because we will by no meanes againe, divorce our selves one from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement was made, all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Poolaroone were witnesses thereunto; all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Rosinging have unto the aforesaid Premisses set their hands.

The King of Wayre.	The Sabandar of Rosinging.
The Sabandar of Wayre.	Emmon of Rosinging.
Emmon of Wayre.	Hattib of Rosinging.

[I. v. 703.] Translation of the Surrender of Lantore, Cont. in the paper N.D.

In the yeere of the Prophet Mahomed 1028. in the tenth day of the Moone Maharran being Saturday, the yeere is called Aleph. And in the yeere of Jesus, 1620. in the Moneth of November the 24. day.

THis is the writing of the agreement of the Sabander of Lantore, and the Cap. of Lantore, & all the Orankayes within the Countrey of Lantore, with Robert Hayes, after the losse of Captaine Courthop; That we of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore unto the Kings Majestie of England with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Countrey of Lantore, we promise to sell to no other people, other then to the subjects of the Kings Majestie of England only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of Lantore, doe promise every yeere to send to the Kings Majestie of England a bough of a Nutmeg tree, for the acknowledging of the homage of us the men of Lantore, to the Kings Majestie of England. To the intent that this agreement of Surrender betwixt us be not forgotten, to the end of the world: and

to the intent their be no difference or falling out betwixt us. Furthermore, we doe crave of his Majestie of England, concerning such things as doe not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Countrey of Bandan, to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given betweene the Bandanezes and the Englishmen: As to enforce our Women, our Wives or Daughters, or to strike any of us, or violently to take any thing from us, or to let Swine loose in our Countrey, or any such like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. These things we onely except (because those things tend to the destroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the Bandanezes and the English, unto the end of the world. And whereas it pleaseth God that James is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; so now also he is King of the Countrey of Banda: so then the Country of Banda is in subjection to no other King then to the Kings Majestie of England onely in this world, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of Islam doth not agree with the Christian Religion, neither doth the Christian Religion agree with our Religion of Islam; and this is the purport of our agreement. Further, if it shall happen any English to runne to us, or any Banda man to runne to the English, it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chiefe of the English and us of Banda; because such things are contrary to our Religion, and tend onely to falling out and brabbles betwixt the Bandamen and the Englishmen. At this time we were together in consultation, all the Orankayes of Lantore, and the Orankayes of Labetacke, and the Orankayes of Nero Pooloway and Poolaroone, and have put too our hands, and this is the intent of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore.
Sabandar Ratoo.

[The Voyage

The Voyage of Master Henry Middleton to the Moluccas (having sent Captaine Colthurst in the Ascension to Banda) with letters of the Kings of those parts to his Majestie.

This should have come in more due place before, being the second Voyage of the Compauy, if we then had had it: but better late then never. And for the subject it well agrees with this place also.

HAving taken leave of the Company, being furnished with all things necessary, we departed from Gravsend the five and twentieth of March, 1604. and about the twentieth of December following, after many various accidents, we arrived (our men being very weake) in Bantam Roade; where after many complementall salutations betweene us and the Hollanders, with interchange of great Ordnance on both parts, the Generall of the Hollanders dining the last of December aboard our Generall: The day following, our Generall went on shoare with a letter from the Kings Majestie of England, to the King of Bantam, which was a present sent, was by him received with great ceremonie, he being but of thirteene yeeres of age, and governed by a Protector. The sixteenth of the said moneth, our Generall came aboard from Bantam to proceed on his voyage for the Moluccaes, appointing Master Surflet to goe home in the Hector. The seventh of January following 1605. we anchored under the Shore of Veranula, a people that deadly hate the Portugals, and therefore had sent to the Hollanders for ayde against them, promising to become subject unto them, if they expeld the Portugals; in summe, the Hollanders prepared to assault the Castle of Amboyna, and the Portugals to defend it, the one purposing to recover, the other to hold it; The Hollanders summoning them in the Prince of Orange his name to deliver it that day by two of the clocke, and the Portugals denying it. Yet in the end after many attempts and defences, it was yeelded to the Hollanders by composition, whereupon the Governour of the Towne, after the surrender of the Castle, bard us of all trade by the command of the Hollanders.

His Majesties letter. King of Bantam.

[I. v. 704.]

Varanula.

Castle of Amboyna taken.

English barred of trade by the Hollanders.

The warre continuing betweene the Tarnatans and

Tydorians, the first assisted by the Hollanders, the other by the Portugals, shortly after we got under the land of Tydore, where we might espie betweene Pulocanally and Tydore, two Gallies of Tarnata making great speed towards us, weaving unto us with a white flagge to strike sayle and to tarry for them. At the same time came seven Gallies of Tydore, rowing betwixt us and the shore to assault the Tarnatans, our Generall seeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee to know what the matter was; The formost of these Gallies or Coracoras, wherein the King of Tarnata with divers of his Nobles, and three Dutch Merchants were, being full of feare, desired our Generall for Gods sake to save them from their enemies the Tydorians, from whom they looked for no mercy if he did not help them, & withall, that he would be pleased to rescue their other Coracora that came after, wherin there were divers Dutchmen who were to expect nothing but death, if he did not releeve them. Whereupon our Generall commanded his Gunner to shoote at the Tydore Gallies, yet they desisted not but boarded them within shot of our Ordnance, and put them all to the sword, but three that saved themselves by swimming, and were taken up by our men into their boat.

King of Ternata.

Tydore Gallies.

Our Generall being determined to goe for Tydore, the Dutch desired him that he would not let the King of Tarnata and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had so lately delivered them, promising mountaines of Cloves and other Commodities at Tarnata and Makeu, but performing Mole-hils, (verifying the proverbe, The danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.) One thing I may not forget, the King of Tarnata comming aboard the Generall, trembled for feare, which the Generall supposing to be for cold, put a blacke Damaske gowne laid with gold lace, and lined with unshorne Velvet on his backe, which at his departure, he had not the manners to restore, but kept it as his owne: But see how this kindnesse was shortly after recompensed by these unthankefull men. Our Generall arriving at the Portugals towne in Tydore; the

English benefit to the Dutch.

Ternatas fraud.

Governour of the Fort sent one Thomas de Torres, and others with a letter, the effect whereof was, that the King of Tarnata and the Hollanders reported, that there was nothing but treason and villany to be expected at our hands, but that he conceived better of us, beleeving their reports to be nothing but malice. To second this, not long after, our Generall arriving at the Kings towne, sent Master Grave aboard the Dutch Admirall, who found but could entertainement at their hands, affirming that we had assisted the Portugals in the last warres against the King of Tarnata and them, with Ordnance and other Munition, which our Generall proved to the contrary by some Portugals that were taken prisoners by them in that conflict; & then being ashamed of the slaunder, the Generall affirmed he had it from a Renegado Gussarat, but did not thinke it to be true.

Dutch unkindnesse.

This Slander passeth in print in their authors notwithstanding.

Peevishnesse of the Dutch.

Their bragges and lies.

To fill up full measure, not long after the King of Tarnata seeming to affect our Nation, they threaned him that they would forsake him and joyne with the deadly enemie the King of Tydore, if he suffered the English either to have a Factory, or any trade with them, affirming that the English were theeves and robbers, and no other he should find them, and that the King of Holland was stronger by Sea, then all Christendome besides, with many other disgracefull speeches of our Nation, and all other Christian Princes (a just consideration for all Nations to thinke what this insolent frothy * Nation will doe, if they attaine to the possession of the East Indies). To which insolent speeches our General replied: That what Hollander soever he were that so reported, he lyed like a traitor, and that he would make it good against any one that should so report; affirming that if the Queenes Majestie of England had not taken pitty of them, they had beene utterly ruined by the King of Spaine, and branded for slaves and traitors. The particular wrongs done by them to our Nation, if they were laid open, would fill volumnes, and amaze the world to heare. I will conclude, to shew the esteeme had of our Nation in the East India, with the true Copies of

**Understand this of the Merchants which traded (or warred rather) not of the whole land or best men of Holland. Loosers will have leave to speak: & Merchants envy each other.*

sundry letters sent by their Kings to his Majestie of Great Brittaine, and first of the King of Tarnata.

The King of Tarnatas Letter to the King.

HEaring of the good reports of your Majestie by the comming of the great Captaine Sir Francis Drake, in the time of my father, which was about some thirtie yeeres past: by the which Captaine my predecessor did [I. v. 705.] send a Ring unto the Queene of England, as a token of remembrance betweene us: which if the aforesaid Drake had bin living, he could have informed your Majestie of the great love and friendship of either side: he in the behalfe of the Queene, my Father for him and his successors: since which time of the departure of the foresaid Captaine, we have dayly expected his returne, my Father living many yeeres after, and dayly expecting his returne. And I after the death of my Father, have lived in the same hope, till I was father of eleven children: In which time, I have beene informed that the Englishmen were men of a bad disposition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to dispossesse us of our kingdomes; which by the comming of the bearer hereof, we have found to the contrary: which we greatly rejoyce at. And after many yeeres of our expectation of some English forces, by the promise of Captaine Drake, here arrived certaine ships, which we well hoped had bin Englishmen, but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of succour of the English Nation, wee were enforced to write to the Prince of Holland, to crave aide and succour against our ancient enemies the Portugals; and according to our request, he hath sent hither his forces which have expelled the Portugals out of all the Forts which they held at Amboyna and Tydore. And whereas your Majestie hath sent to me a most kind and friendly letter by your servant Captaine Henry Middleton; that doth not a little rejoyce us: and whereas Captaine Henry Middleton was desirous to leave a factorie heere, we were very willing thereunto; which the Captaine of the Hollanders understanding, he

Fame of Sir Francis Drake.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

A friend at a pinch.

came to challenge me of a former promise, which I had written to the Prince of Holland: That if he would send me such succours, as should expell the Portugals out of these parts, that no other Nation should have trade there, but only they: so that we were enforc't against our likings, to yeeld unto the Holland Captaines request for this time, whereof we crave pardon of your Highnesse: and if any of your Nation come hereafter, they shall be welcome. And whereas the chiefe Captaine of the Hollanders doth solicite us not to hold any friendship with your Nation, nor to give eare to your Highnesse Letters, yet for all their suit, if you please to send hither againe, you shall be welcome: And in token of our friendship which we desire of your Majestie, we have sent you a small remembrance, a Bahar of Cloves, our Country being poore, and yeelding no better commodity; which we pray your Highnesse to accept in good part.

TARNATA.

The King of Tydores Letter to the Kings Majestie of England.

THis writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England, is to let your Highnesse understand, that the King of Holland hath sent hither into these parts, a Fleete of ships, to joyne with our ancient enemie the King of Tarnata, and they jointly together, have over-run and spoiled part of our Countrey, and determined to destroy both us and our subjects. Now understanding by the bearer hereof, Captaine Henry Middleton, that your Highnesse is in friendship with the King of Spaine, we desire your Majestie that you would take pitty of us, that we may not be destroyed by the King of Holland and Tarnata, to whom we have offered no wrong: but they by forcible meanes, seeke to bereave us of our Kingdome. And as great Kings upon the earth are ordained by God, to succour all them that be wrongfully oppressed; So I appeale unto your Majestie for succour against my enemies; not doubting but to find reliefe at your Majes-

ties hands: And if your Majestie send hither, I humbly intreat that it may bee Captaine Henry Middleton or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdomes, blesse you and all your Counsels.

TYDORE.

The King of Bantam to the King of England.

A Letter given by your friend the King of Bantam, to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: desiring God to preserve your health, and to exalt you more and more and all your Counsell. And whereas your Majestie hath sent a Generall Henry Middleton he came to me in health. I did heare that your Majestie was come to the Crowne of England, which doth greatly rejoyce my heart: now England and Bantam are both as one. I have also received a Present from your Majestie: the which I give you many thankes for. I doe send your Majestie two Bezar stones, the one weighing fourteene masses, the other three: and so God have you in his keeping.

BANTAM.

Chap. XV. [I. v. 706.]

The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histories.

FOrasmuch as Banda hath beene almost the bane, and as it were the Trojane Horse to our Indian Ilium, whence an Iliade of miseries and mischiefes have issued to that Societie whereby their wonted gaines have beene suspended (with a Xanthe retro propera) their reputation stayned, their shippes and goods taken and stayed, the persons of many Christians, Brethren in Armes, Arts, and Religion: exposed to the basest of contumelies, and cruellest of deaths, as the premisses declare; and that amongst the Infidels, whom by word and example of life they

should have sought to convert; whose states also are hereby subverted, and their faith farther perverted (thorow you, the wrong-doers in this case, is my Name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles) I have thought good to set downe the true case briefly, as out of divers Witnesses, Christian and Heathen, English and Dutch, I have gathered it; no whit seeking the dishonour of either Nation (for what Nation hath not some sicke, some rotten members:) but as an Historian ought to deliver the truth: which haply the industrious out of the formall materials can see to doe without helpe, but the vulgar will need Spectacles. And herein for the more honor of the Dutch Nation, we wil begin with the beginnings of their Indian Navigations, and by briefe steps descend into these broyles: wherein if the Merchants have proved Martiall, if some of their Commanders have beene insolent, if others of the baser Rascalitie with Pot-froth or Sea-froth, transported to blaspheme Kings and higher Powers: & that Dutch-Indian disease hath lately grown Epidemical in those parts, & turned into a general Contagion wherwith their greatest numbers there have beene infected: yet the head and heart here at home (I doubt not) are sound, and will soone (my hope tels me) purge these maligne humours from those remoter members: will soone? nay! my faith runnes faster, they are even now a doing it: herein also my charitie checks it, as too short-breathed, and faith (it is others fault if I lye) they have alreadie * done it. For who can suppose that they will make others wrong deeds theirs by convenience or countenance? that their Justice will not doe that which is just? that their wisdome doth not reason in season? that their mature forwardnesse hath not done alreadie that to, and for the English there, which came thither and about the World by English helpe; by their examples in Drake and Candish instigated; by their Pilots, notes and instructions, as before appeareth in Melis, Adams, Davis, and others not a little furthered; and by their support at home enabled to looke abroad: so many gallant English spirits exhaled, so much English Trea-

*Dabit, Lentum est dabit, dat, hoc quoque est Lentum, dedit. Sen Hei fur.

sure exhaust, in defence of that Belgian libertie: wherein the Hollander of all men will not take it to see their vertue imitated by the Bandanezes, who likewise there affected it by seeking English protection, and effected by surrendring themselves in subjection to the English Crowne? And as for their freedome then when they offered it, I am not willing to make a comparative quære betwixt the Dutch and them * whether were freer States: whether more obliged, these to the Dutch themselves by any act of former subjection, or to the pretended title of Ternate, (in both which, the Dutch owne Historiographers, as heere will appeare, free them) or the other to. But I will to my Historie, or rather to theirs, both in respect of the subject and authors, and occasioned by the evill of some, will honour the worthier spirits of that Nation, out of their owne Journals and Relations, delivering a briefe of their Marine Exploits.

*Si ego dignus sim hac contumelia maximè (may both English and Bandanese alleage). At tu (Hollande) indignus qui faceres tamen.

*Hist Amstelod. Joh. Isacy Pontani. l. 2. c. 18 & 24. Prefat. in 8. part. Ind. Orient

WHen * the King of Spaine had made many yeeres warres upon the Hollanders with exceeding expense and force, permitting meane whiles the Hollanders ships neverthelesse to trade on his Coasts, he was at last counselled to bring them to subjection, by hindering their Navigation and intercepting their ships by arrest. Thus were they prohibited the shoares of Spaine and Portugall, some put into their Gallies, their goods confiscate, and the Hollanders began to thinke of other Trade, and to make tryall of the Indies. And first began those of Amsterdam to set forth eight ships by consent of the States and Prince Maurice: foure of which were to goe the wonted way (by the Cape of Good Hope) to seeke and settle Trade in those parts especially of the Indies, where the Spanish Power was not admitted; The other foure (of which two were of Amsterdam, the other two of Zeland and Enckhusen) attempted by the North to discover a passage to China, Cathay and the Moluccas, as by a farre shorter cut; this way from Holland to Japan being not above one thousand two hundred thirtie five Dutch miles,

Diarium Nauticum in Ind. Orient. ap. Io. Janson. Arnhemiens. also you have this whole Voyage written by the Commissarie of the Fleet in the third part, Ind. Or. Of these things see their severall Journals published in divers Languages: also the tomes of the E. J. Gaspar. Ens, Got Artus Metranus, pag. 594. &c.

A.D. 1595.

whereas by the Portugall way it was two thousand nine hundred thirtie two. Of their Northerne Expeditions * elsewhere: the other foure ships by a safer and more frequented way set forth in the same yeare 1595. and laid foundation of that which since is reputed by them a miraculous structure, and taking occasion from being forbidden Spaine, to make themselves way first to the East, and since enterprizing also the West Indies. The ships were the Maurice, the Holland, the Amsterdam, and a Pinnasse, the persons two hundred fortie nine: the Societie called, De Compenie van verre: the whole charge was two hundred and ninetie thousand Florens, of which one hundred thousand was in readie money and Merchandize. The Maurice and the Holland were of two hundred and eightie lasts, the Amsterdam one hundred and eightie, the Pinnasse twentie. The Captaine of the first Bernard Heynck; Cape Merchant, Cornelius Houtman; John Miller Master, &c.

**In the eight Booke of his Workes.*

[I. v. 707.]

Societias longinquæ societatis.

The second of Aprill, they set saile from the Tessell. The second of August, they had sight of the Cape of Good Hope. The two and twentieth of September, they set two men on shoare for mutinie. On the five and twentieth, they came to Saint Augustines Bay in the Ile of Saint Laurence. The tenth of February, to Anton Gill.

In May they came to Dampin in Sumatra, in June to the Straits of Sunda, where certaine Portugals from Bantam visited them. On the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth, divers Chinois, Malabars, and men of other Nations came to them, some of which had beene in Constantinople, Venice and Rome, and one of them said, hee had foure monethes past seene their Lad and God (meaning the Pope) whom they answered that they were Christians, and cared not for the Pope. On the sixe and twentieth of June, Captaine Heync dyed of the Fluxe. On the nine and twentieth, the Pangram or Vice-King came aboord the Mauritius. The first of July, the Princes Letters (written in Arabecke and Portugall) were read, and Covenants confirmed by Oath on both sides.

On the sixth of July, they were warned by their Interpreter, from the Vice-roy or Protector, to take heed of the Portugals, which (notwithstanding coloured friendship) sought their ruine, and had agreed with Cæsar (whose father had ruled all Java, but he himselfe was brought into straits, and enjoyed little but a name, having also a Portugall Wife) that he should invite all the principall Hollanders to a Feast, and the Portugals, meane-while, with fiftie Souldiers and others of Cæsars Houshold should invade their ships, Cæsar to have the spoyle, and the Portugals to give him three thousand Ducats for the ships. This Cæsar was so called by the Portugals, of the people Raya Davina: but the men of Bantam rejected his Dominion because he had lived at Malacca, and favoured the Portugals, to whom they feared lest he should bring them in subjection. Yet was he acknowledged of many, even Kings themselves speaking to him with their hands infolded one in the other (the gesture of Slaves) hee had also beene aboord with his children on the second of July. He told them also that the Portugals sought to perswade the Vice-Roy to the like, and besought and bribed his followers thereunto, affirming, that they were not Merchants but Pirats, and if they had accesse now in ten or twelve yeares they would returne and subdue their Countrey: and this sparke, if now unquenched would set the whole East on fire. Moreover, they were enemies to the King of Spaine, whose enmitie would by their entertainment be procured: and that they were but Spies. The Hollanders sent one of their Captaines into the Towne to search the truth by conference with the Protector or Vice-Roy, who further counselled them to shoot into the Towne when Cæsar went aboord the ships, promising to reveale all things to them: He found also in the Sabanders house Gun-powder and other hostile provision. They sent Cæsar a Costlet and other Presents, and he accordingly sent to invite all their chiefe men and Musicians: but now by their Present seemed to bee wonne to better thoughts, blaming the Portugals.

Portugals treachery to the Hollanders.

Raya Davina a Cæsar.

Hereby appeareth the discord betwixt Caesar and the Bantamians as farre as they durst.

After this Cæsar went to Jacatra, and the Protector and Hollanders agreed about taking a house for their better Traffique, which was done, and Rainer van Hell was appointed chiefe, who yet found nothing but fraudes and shifts in the Protector and Bantameses. As for the Portugals they murthered Peter Tayda a Mestizo of Portugall originall and dwelling at Bantam, for holding familiaritie with the Dutch, by the sollicitation of their Priest. The Inhabitants were by Proclamation inhibited to sell Rice to the Hollander, and presently after they were told of an assault, should be made on their ships: and when some of their Companie had gotten aboord, the rest were detayned: which when by no intercession they could recover, they assayled the towne with their ships, and tooke three Junckes; a fourth was set on fire by the Portugals to prevent taking.

At night Houtman the chiefe on shoare writ to them that they had halters about their neckes, and were presently all of them adjudged to dye, if they continued further battery and spoyle. A dayes truce followed, and after that the Warre renewed, which continued above a moneth, and peace was concluded. As for Houtman and his fellowes, they were sentenced to dye, but the various opinions of the meanes protracted their lives. Perswaded by the Portugals who had sent purposely thither from Malacca,* the Bantamians after a little space broke off Trade againe, which the Hollanders supplyed by taking their Junckes. After this they were assaulted by a ship of Indians, with poysoned Arrowes, the venom whereof could not be cured but by cutting out the affected part: this ship also the Hollanders tooke. The Portugals expostulated with the Protector that so little had beene done, and they both grew to hot words, the fuell of a great fire; the Portugals seizing on some China Junckes for their satisfaction, which the Protector a while dissembled but afterwards revenged with the destruction of the Portugals; under colour of a great Mariage at Jacatra, setting forth a

**This Messenger is said to have given 10000 Rials to deliver him theHollanders, or to prohibit them Trade.*

[I. v. 708.]

Fleet, wherewith he invaded the Portugall Gallies, slue the men and divided the spoyle, the other Portugals slipping their Anchors and fleeing to Malacca.

The Portugals reward.

The Hollanders came to Jacatra the thirteenth of November, and were received with much kindnesse, whence having furnished themselves with necessaries, they set sayle, the Amsterdam running with full sayles on a Rocke before they had sayled a Dutch mile. On the third of December, they came to Tuban and Cydaia, where they bought Nutmegs and Cloves, and the Sabandar gave them a great Fowle called Eme, above foure foot in height, somewhat like an Ostrich, saving that the feete were not cloven. Here under colour of friendship the Cydayans (set on, as they learned after, by the Portugals and Bantamians,) with sixe great Prawes assailed the Amsterdam and the Pinnasse: where they slue in the Amsterdam twelve and wounded two, but the other ships comming in, they fled, losing an hundred and fiftie of the Javans. The Hollanders departed thence to Madura. Here the King would needs have leave to come aboord, which he was permitted if he came with sixe followers, and to one of the greater ships. But hee comming with one hundred, and to the Amsterdam, was slaine, with the Priest and most of his Companie: his yong sonne and others taken: by whom they learned the ill intent that the Madurians had to take their ship Amsterdam, which themselves soone after fired, taking out of her what they found useful. And now having lost many of their Chiefes they consulted about returne, and by force of winds were put into Ballabua, and the ship Holland entring the River of Baly an Ile nine leagues off, was put back with the violence of the streame. The King of Passarvan a Mahumetan had marryed and slaine the daughter of the King of Balabua a Gentile, and now held him besieged to inforce him to exchange his faithlesse faith. The King of Baly assisted the Gentile, but his Captaine being slaine, the rest returned. These told of a ship there ten yeares before, which was thought to be Master Candishes, the old King, then supposed one

Tuban, Cydaio, Brandaon and Surubaya are neere each other, on Java.

The Bird Eme.

Another treacherie.

Madura.

Ballabua, or Balamboan, here Candish had beene.

hundred and fiftie to be still living. Baly they called Hollandiola, for the fertilitie; there they watered.

Baly called Hollandiola in eight degrees of South latitude.

They sent to the King, who accompanied the Messenger to the shoare in a Chariot drawne with Buffals, holding the Whip in his owne hands, having three hundred followers, some with flame-formed Crises and long Speares, Bowes of Canes with poysoned Arrowes. Hee was feasted in Dishes of solid Gold. The Land is an equall and fertile plaine to the West, watered with many little Rivers (some made by hand) and so peopled that the King is able to bring into the field * three hundred thousand foot, and one hundred thousand horsemen. Their horse are little like Islanders, their men blacke and using little Merchandize, but with Cotton Cloth in Prawes. The Iland is in compasse about twelve Germane miles. Their Religion is Ethnike, ordered by the Brachmanes or Bramenes, in whose Disciplines the King is trayned up. They have also Banianes, which weare about their neckes a stone as bigge as an Egge with a hole in it, whence hang forth three threds; they call it Tambarene, and thinke the Deitie thereby represented: they abstaine from flesh and fish, but not (as the Javan Pythagoreans) from Marriage. Once they may marry, and when they dye their Wives are buried quicke with them. Every seventh day they keepe holy, and many other Holidayes in the yeare besides with solemne Ceremonies. Their Wives burne with their dead Husbands. Here they heard of Captaine Drakes being there eighteene yeares before, and called one Strait by his name. The King observeth state, is spoken to with hands folded, by the best. The Quillon hath power there as the Chancellor in Poland. Two of their companie forsooke them and stayed on the Iland. And of the two hundred fortie nine there were now left but ninetie. In February they began their returne. The foure and twentieth of Aprill, 1597. they came in sight of Terra del Natal, and the five and twentieth of May, of Saint Helena, where foure Carracks made them afraid to adventure. The eleventh of August they entered the Tessell:

**Another saith (which is more credible) that it nourisheth 600000. people.*

The seventh day holy.

Drakes Streight.

the ship Holland having not men left to weigh their Anchor, and forced therefore in a storme to cut their Mast over-boord.

The second Voyage.

ALthough the gaine of this Expedition were losse of men and perhaps also of money and wealth, yet did it encourage with the strange Noveltie and hopefull probabilitie many Adventurers, both of the Hollanders and of English also that way affected, adventuring with them. This we have observed in the Voyages of Master Davis, * Pilot with Houtman, with two ships; and of Master Adams with Jaques Mayhay, in a Fleete of five ships, and of Melis * with Oliver Noort, in a Fleete of foure ships, these two last sayling by the Magellan Streights to the Indies, following the Sunne to see his rising and seeking the East Indies by the West: all were set forth in the yeare after the others returne. Anno 1598. The same yeare was by the Indian Societie of Holland set forth a Fleet of eight ships, the Holland, the Zealand, the Frisland, the Gelderland, the Utrick, the Over-Issel, or the Dove, the Maurice, and the Amsterdam, furnished with five hundred and sixtie men, James Neccius Admirall in the Maurice, Wibrand Warwicke (whom we before have honoured for his love and honour to the English) Vice-Admirall in the Amsterdam, and seven Commissioners adjoyned. On May-day they set forth from the Tessell, and kept together till they came to the hopefull Promontorie, where they by ignorance and foule weather parted, the Holland, Maurice and Over-issell, holding their way to the Ile of Saint Marie: the other five to the Iland De Cerne, by them named of Prince Mauritius, about twentie degrees South latitude, neere to Madagascar, mountainous, full of tall trees of blacke, red and yellow Ebonie, and Palmites, having a good ayre, Tortoises able to goe with foure men on their backes, and to hold ten men sitting on the inside of the shell, (unkind Guests eating their Host, non hospes ab hospite tutus) store of Fowles, desolate and

*Pag. 117.

*Pag. 125. & Pag. 71.

[I. v. 709.]

*Mauritius Iland.

dis-habited, by man or beast: they left there Hennes, and sowed a certaine Plaine with divers seeds. The other three ships having watered at Saint Maries, (able to yeeld little else) came to Bantam, in the end of the yeere, who suspected them to be the same which formerly had beene there, and refused Trade, till they sent Abdol a Chinois (carried into Holland by the former Fleet) with Presents to the King then an Infant, and Cephate the Protector, and procured Trafficke. Foure weekes after came in the other five ships, many of them sicke, and thirtie five dead. The Bantameses having ejected the Portugals, now brought them store of provision, used them kindly, admired their Pewter, and for one Spoone gave as much food as would serve a man a weeke. But Abdols telling of the other ships to come raised the price of Pepper. Foure ships being laden were sent home, and arrived at the Tessell, the nineteenth of July, 1599. The other resolved for the Moluccas and Neccius being returned, Warwicke was their Admirall.

Dec. 26., 1598.

Speedy Voyage to and fro the Indies, in 15. M.

These set sayle from Bantam the eight of Januarie. On the one and twentieth they came to Tuban a Towne of Java, the King thereof potent and pompous, the People delighted in riding, their silken Saddles pourtrayed with Devils; they use exercises and games on hors-backe. Here having gotten provision, on the eight and twentieth they came to Madura an Iland lying Northward from Java, fertile of Rice, the People living in great part on robberie. Heere they divided their Fleet, two ships the Gelderland and Zeland for Jortam in Java, the Utricke and Amsterdam to Arosbay a Towne on the West of Madura, where they had no sooner landed their men to seeke provision, but they were taken, spoyled, and captived by the Inhabitants; and after them three others sent to see what was become of their fellowes. They demanded for their libertie two great Peeces, one thousand Rials and other commodities. But the Admirall having called the rest from Jortam put on land one hundred and fiftie men to recover them by force on the fift of Februarie, and saw

Tuban.

Jortam.

Madura.

Treacherie.

many in Armes, two Portugals being their Captaines. Whiles they were in fight a storme arose, which made the Hollanders mind their ships, but two boats in their returne were overturned with fortie nine men, of which twentie five drowned and slaine, the rest were kept prisoners with their fellowes, in all one and fiftie; for which they payed in money and wares, two thousand Rials of eight.

Divers Ilands.

On the seventeenth, they had sight of Celebes: on the nineteenth of the Ile Camboyna: on the one and twentieth, of Cebesa, betwixt which the Botun lie shoalds, which they happily escaped: on the five and twentieth, Bur: on the sixe and twentieth, Blau: the first of March, they saw three Ilands adjoyning Atypoly, Manyba, and Gyta, before Amboyna, to which they came on the third. In Amboyna, are store of Cloves, Oranges, Limonds, Citrons, Coquos, Bonanas, Sugar canes: the Inhabitants simple and poore, their weapons long Pikes hooked, which they dart very sure. Their Coracoras or Boats have some representation of a Dragon, of the head in the prow, and the tayle in the sterne, adorned with Streamers.

The Dutch first trade at Banda. 1599.

Heere they agreed for trade and a house. But because here was not sufficient for all foure ships, therefore the Zeland and Gelderland were sent to Banda. On the fourteenth, they passed by Polo Setto, an Iland not inhabited, five leagues North-west from Banda: whereof also they conceit I know not what devillish possession, insomuch that their foolish Indian Pilot, with a terrible gastly countenance (when they came against it) thrust forth the boat-hooke with like gesture as they doe in boats, as if he would thrust the ship thence, and being wearie layd it by him with the hooke forward, seeming to triumph of his Devill-conquest when he was past.

Polo Setton.

Poolaway.

On the fifteenth, they came to Pooloway, and had sight of Poolaroone, and anchored that night at Banda. The Sabander came the next day to conferre with the Admirall, and agreement of mutuall trade was made betwixt them, a house also taken for that purpose. On the three and

twentieth, came the first Merchandise from Ortattan: on the foure and twentieth, they began to buy and sell: on the five and twentieth, the Vice-Admirall went to the other side of Banda which is most frequented, to hire a house there: on the seven and twentieth, came goods from Nera. On the fourth of Aprill, they had Letters from the Admirall at Amboyna, that by reason of the Inhabitants Warres with the Portugals he had yet laded few wares. All May they were busie in buying and selling.

Civill warres among the Bandaneses.

On the fift of June, the men of Labetacke (about an houres journey distant from Nera, but in heart unmeasurably different,) made a sallie or skirmish, in which some were slaine. On the seventeenth, the men of Nera with those of Lantore and Pooloway went over to Wayre and [I. v. 710.] killed many, whose heads in disgrace of Labetacke they fastned on their boats, and at their returne, with their swords yet bloudie, made glorious muster of themselves foure or five dayes together. They brought some women captives, one of which they cut asunder. Yet did they after burie the heads in cotton clothes. The Zeland received in her last lading on the nine and twentieth of June: and the Gelderland on the first of July. On the second, the Vice-Admirall intreated good usage to those he should leave behind him in a house built by them, and having given gifts to the Sabander and the Orancayes, he tooke leave: (Regem nullum agnoscunt) for the Bandaneses acknowledge no King, sed suis institutis viventes, ad Seniorum Cœtus, ubi consultatione opus est, res referunt: they are ruled by their owne States or Orankayes. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans and very devout, that they begin nothing, neither Divine nor Humane, before they have prayed in their manner. They are a collectitious Nation of many Peoples compounded. The Ilands are divers, Banda the chiefe, in which are sixe or seven Townes continually disagreeing. The chiefe is Nera, to which Labetacke, Comber, and Wayre are enemies: Lantore (on the other side of the Iland) and the two Ilands of Pooloway and Poolaroone are friends to

They are the words of Isacius Pontanus, lib. 2. c. 25. of his History of Amsterdam. See also pars 5. Ind. Orient. which words are to be marked against whatsoever pretext of Ternate, or disabilitie of surrendring themselves.

Nera. The cause of these Jarres and Warres is; the casting downe of certaine trees many yeeres since, in the territorie of Nera, by the men of Labetacke: whence they still kill one another like Dogs. Their banquets publicke, Meskit ceremonies, and foot-ball tennise, I omit. They are nimble, and some very aged unto one hundred and thirtie yeeres. The worke in dressing their Nutmegs, Mace, and otherwise, is the womens burthen.

On the fourth of July, they set sayle from Banda, and on the sixe and twentieth came to Jacatra. On the eight of August to Bantam, from whence they set sayle on the nineteenth; and the twentieth of Aprill, 1600. arrived in the Tessell. The two other ships, Amsterdam and Utricke, after two moneths stay at Amboyna, set sayle thence the eighth of May for the Moluccas; and on the two and twentieth, cast Anchor neere Ternate. Here they held trade with the Kings leave and love, till the nineteenth of August; and then leaving some in Factorie they departed. The nineteenth of December, they came to Bantam, whence they set sayle the one and twentieth of Januarie. The sixteenth of February, John Peters an Englishman their Treasurer died. The thirtieth of May, they had sight of the Ascension, from whence the next day they made haste homewards, much pressed with defect of victual, and safely arrived at Amsterdam.

John Peeters an Englishman.

BUt before the returne of any of these ships, in the yeere 1599. the Dutch Indian Companie set forth another Fleet of three ships, under the command of Stephen van Hagen, the fourth of May. Likewise the foure ships of the former Fleet, which had made so speedy a Voyage, were sent againe forthwith under the command of James Williams. And besides the former Companie, a new Companie of Amsterdam and Brabant sent forth a Navie of foure ships under Peter Bot. These set sayle from the Tessell the one and twentieth of December, 1599. which returned two yeeres after richly laden. Also this last Society prepared two other ships, A. 1600. to

Many Fleets sent to the East Indies out of Holland and Zeland.

which the former Companie added sixe other of five hundred tunnes the piece, under the command of Neccius, which making happie returnes, meane whiles the Zelanders entertayned the businesse. And in the yeere 1601. thirteene ships departed from Amsterdam, on the three and twentieth of Aprill, under the command of James Heemskirck, foure; and foure under John Grenier, and foure under Wolphard Harminius. Against these the Spaniard set forth a strong Armada of thirteene Sayle, which encountred eight ships of the Dutch, before the rest were come to them; a fight followed, wherein a small Hollander Pinnasse was so battered, that they tooke out her wares, and sent her backe.

See Davis his first Voyage, pag. 117. This slaughter of Houtman some ascribe to the Portugal wiles, part. oct. Ind. Or.

How Houtman was slaine at Achen, is elsewhere delivered. This King being by Portugall wiles further instigated, did give good entertainment notwithstanding, this yeare 1601. to some Zeland ships under the command of Laurence Bicker, as also to George Spilberg. He sent his Ambassador also to Prince Maurice, with Bicker, one of which died at Middleborough, whose Epitaph in great letters hath, Hic situs est Abdur Zamat Princeps Legationis à Rege Taprobanæ seu Sumatræ Soltan Alciden Raietra Lillo Lahe Felalam missæ: ad Illustriss. Principem Mauritium cum duabus Navibus quæ in dedit. accepere Liburnicam Lusitanicam. Vixit 71. obiit Anno cIↃ. IↃ. cII. Præfecti Societatis Indicæ H.M.P.C.

Companies united.

But when as it happened by the diversitie of Stockes and Companies, that great losse ensued to the Adventurers, it was by common consent concluded, that all these severall Companies should be united, and by Proclamation forbidden to all but this Society to adventure to the Indies for one and twentie yeeres space: and that Amsterdam should in the expeditions of new Fleets, beare halfe the charge; Middleborough a fourth part; Delfe, Rotterdam, Horne, and Enchusen each a sixteenth, &c. Presently after, this united Companie made readie a Fleet of fourteene ships according to these proportions under the command of * Stephen van Hagen. The capitall Summe or

*See Pontan. pag. 204. *Others say Wibrand Warrick: or else that which followeth of Herman de Bree is another Fleet.*

common Stocke brought into the Treasurie, exceeded sixe Millions of Florens.

The Portugals which alone before enjoyed the Indian Trade, did much enrich the Dutch by their opposition, which while they sought to make prize of the Hollanders, were often surprized, the Portugall decaying in those parts unto this day. Wolphard Harminius before named Admirall of five ships in the Straights of Sunda,[a] was told by a China Junke that Bantam was besieged of a Portugall Armada, under the command of Andreas Fortado Mendoza,[b] consisting of eight great ships and neere twentie Frigats, seeking to cause the Bantameses to have nothing to doe with the Dutch. Wolphard tooke counsell and adventured on the Portugals, of whom hee tooke two Frigats and three Ships, some he sunke, others they set fire on themselves; the rest departed to Amboyna, and there slew divers of the Inhabitants, for holding trade with the Dutch, and (as having an evill eye at Natures good eye, and angrie with the very Elements) cut downe their Clove trees, which the Moores had no where done in their most despitefull opposition to the Portugall proceedings in the East. [I. v. 711.]

[a] *Quære whether this name Sunda be not as Sound in these parts, that is a Strait.*

[b] *Of him see pag. 421. Portugal Insolencc. Corruptio optimi pessima: a naughtie Christian is the worst man.*

Wolphard after gratulations of the Bantameses, and some time there spent, directed his course for Ternata and Banda, and hearing that the Portugals were gone to Tydore, where they had a Fortresse; they divided their Fleet, two for Banda, three for Ternata, where they found Francis Verdusius (whom the Dutch had left there) in the great favour of the King. And having well furnished their ships at Ternata, they set sayle for Banda to the rest of their Fleet, where Venius their Factor was well, and had provided store of Mace and Nutmegs, so that they presently sent home three ships laden; the other two stayed there till Cloves were ripe.

Hollanders rich and quiet trade at Banda.

HEemskirk with two ships tooke a Portugall Carricke of Macao valued at divers millions of Florens: she was of fourteene hundred tunnes, had eight hundred men

(one hundred whereof were women) her lading Silke, Sugar, Cotton, Muske, Tintinago, her name Saint Katherine, which first hung forth a bloudie Banner, but being shot betwixt wind and water, exchanged it into a white: seventie men were slayne, the rest according to composition set on shoare. Hee returned, 1604.

Spilbergs going to Zeilan.

SPilberg returned the same yeere. He had fought with three Portugall Caravels at Cape Verde. In Zeilan he received of the King honourable entertainment with libertie of trade, first with the King of Batecoli, and after with the King of Candes, invited by him and accommodated with an Elephant to carrie him by the King of Batecoli, met by the King of Candes his Elephants a dayes journey on the way, and a Litter with costly furniture of Arras, and after that with more honourable accoultrement and attendance of the Captaine (graced with Banners and Colours taken from the Portugals their professed enemies) to the Citie. For after the death of Darma King of Zeilan, this Fimala of Candes (educated with the Portugals in the Fortresse Columbo, and baptised by the name of John de Austria) by the helpe of his friends made himselfe King, and expelled the Portugals. There remayned a daughter of the deceased King, baptized by the name Catharina, whom the Portugals intended to make Queene, and to marrie her to Peter Lopes de Sofa Governour of Malacca, and with a great Armie brought her to Candes, and made John de Austria hide himselfe in the woods, who did beleager the wayes meane while, that no provision might come to the Citie, slaying the Portugals which came in his reach. Whereupon Lopes was constrained to take the field, and trie it by battell, Anno 1590. in which he was slaine, and Catharina then nine or ten yeeres old was married to Fimala, who subverted the Portugall Forts, and every way fortified himselfe against them.

Columbo.

John de Austria or Fimala, how King of Candey or Candy.

This King, the next day after Spilbergs arrivall sent him Horses to come to the Court, which went thither with

CEILAN
insula
Mill Germanica
oriens
occidens
septentrio
meridies
Reino de Candea
DESERTUM
Reino de Jafanapatam
Reino de Trincomale
Reino de Batecalo
Reino de Cotta
Reino de Calane
Reino de Chilao
Reino de Cartabia
Reino de Matel
Reino de Candea
Reino de Uva
Reino de Sabaracos
Reino de Nuvara
Reino de Sofala
Reino de Fungal
Reino de Cotta
Reino de Matel

some Presents, Prince Maurice his Letters and Picture, and the Portraiture of the Battell at Newport.

The King questioned much of these parts, saying hee had thought that there had beene no white men but the Portugals. Hee feasted him in a roome furnished with Arras Hangings, Chaires, a long Table, and other furniture like the Portugals. And as for league, he said that he and the Queene with his Nobles were readie to carrie morter on their shoulders, and stones to erect a Fortresse in his Kingdome, where and whensoever the States and Prince Maurice pleased. Spilberg also to gratifie the King, tooke three Portugall ships not farre off, burned the Vessels and gave the Captives to the King. Hee gave him two Musicians also, because he saw him therewith delighted; wherewith he was so pleased, that he made one of them his Secretarie, would needs learne the Dutch Language, and have his Kingdome called New Holland. Spilberg brought thence first Cynamon and Precious-stones, amongst which a Pyropus (a kind of Carbuncle) so great as had not beene here seene, weighing foure hundred Carats. This Iland from North to South is two hundred and fiftie miles, broad one hundred and fortie, fertile of fruits and odoriferous plants, abundance of Cynamon, gemmes, both by sea and mynes, and Elephants. It is divided into seven Kingdomes, one whereof is principall, the chiefe Citie Columbo, now wholly possessed by Fimala, except the Fortresses of the Portugals. For the Readers further delight, and because I find little Trade of our English on this Iland, I have borrowed hither Hondius Map of Zeilan.

New Holland.

Of this Iland and the veneration of their Elephants by others of other parts &c. see Linschoten.

[I. v. 712.] *Neccius his voyage to China.*

JAmes Neccius before mentioned, setting sayle the eight and twentieth of June, 1601. in the end of March came to Bantam, where he found Paulus à Carden. He spake with the Governour, who willed him to beware of the Portugals, telling that one had beene with him from the King of Tuban, Ragielella a Portugall borne, to sollicite for leave to assault the Dutch in Harbor, for

The Dutch reported of the English, as here the Portugals of them.

which purpose they had a Fleet of fortie sayle at Jacatra. The second of Aprill, he departed from Bantam for the Moluccas. Here at Ternata he found Verdusius aforesaid, and Peter Lindius the Captaine of a Fleet which had passed the Magellane Straights, which here at Ternata had bilged his ship on a Rocke, but saved her goods. By these Neccius heard of a ship of Mabus Fleet at Tidore taken by the Portugals, or betrayed rather, and their Captaine treacherously slaine with all his Company, except five. They had also belabored the King of Ternata against the Hollanders, saying, they were impious, perfidious, without God or goodnesse, Sodomites, of whom for their love to the King, they gave him faire warning, promising also rewards. The Hollanders in revenge set upon the Portugals at Tidore, where Neccius was wounded on his right hand, eight or nine of his Companie lost, and the Dutch going by the worst, retired. Some of his Companie he left at Ternata, and after festivall entertainment for want of merchandize, he was forced to seeke Trade in China, or elsewhere.

See the King of Ternatas Letter to the King, and Sir H. Middletons first Voyage.

Note that the Hollanders in reckoning the King of Ternatas Kingdoms, name not Banda: which before their Authors testifie a free State: and to entertaine Civill Warres, which one King might easily have pacified: besides the King of Ternata offered his Kingdome to the Queene of England. See Sir Fr. Drake. Macao. Hollanders lost there.

This King of Ternata was called Scipidine, Lord of Ternate, Machian, Motir, Amboni, Gulolo, &c. he stileth himselfe also King of Celebes, although he possesseth nothing there but some forced places: and in Mindanao, Sokeni, Menos, and other Ilands.

Neccius came to Coyo one of the Philippinæ in eleven degrees, tributarie to the Spaniard, where they had kind entertainment. After that they came to Mendare not farre from the Bay of Manilla, and eight dayes together were endangered among the Rockes. The twentieth of September, they came to a Land unknowne, and then were encountred with a terrible tempest. This was one of the Ilands before Canton. When they thought themselves twelve or fifteene leagues from Macao, they proceeded three or foure leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a hill, and certaine boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each of them, as if they had beene so many Families dwelling therein. They questioned with

[I. v. 713.]

them (for none would come aboard) of Macao, and they pointed to the mountaine: but they not thinking it so neere, set some ashoare, whom when they could not see returne at night, they misdoubted and found too late that it was Macao, and their men there detayned. Seeing seven and thirty little Ilands before them, they sent the Master to see if he could find any sure harbour by sounding, who was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his consorts. Thus were twenty men lost, amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the Souldiers, which was also Master. They thought to write, but could get no carrier, and staying two dayes at Sanchona without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were carried on the shelfe of Pulo Cynon, and in danger to be carried upon Cauchin China.

Pulo Cynon.
Cauchin China.

After that endangered with tempest and the shelves, and the swiftnesse of the Current to the South, they came to Quami, where finding nothing but Woods, Deserts, and Buffals footings, they passed to Auarella Talca in eleven Degrees, and thirtie Minutes. Heere the Generall with twelve others going on shoare, came to an open field, encompassed with goodly trees, where he found many Buffals feeding, and store of Birds, but they could get none. Finding then the tract of a cart, they followed it to spacious woods and fields, footings of men and beasts, but no habitation, which made them thinke that they lived like the Tartars. They called the place Sotternym of a destraction which they got by eating a certaine fruit, every man distracted for a time with a madnesse answering his proper humour, seeing angels, devils, serpents, all things, and nothing. The one and twentieth of October they passed by Polo Condor, the next day by Sangora, and the seventh of November arrived at Batane, where they had excellent entertainement; procured trade and a house, and by the Queenes favour left there eight in factory. Thither also came Heemskirke, who told them of his taking the Portugall Caricke, and therein of a letter that Don Paulo

Auarella Talca.

Sotternim.

Polo Condor.
Sangora.
Trade at Patania.

Dutch executed.

had hanged fifteene of the Hollanders taken at Macao; the Quester and Master were sent to Goa; which act before they attributed to the Chinois, now saw it to be the Portugals, although (as they thought) by helpe of the Chinois.

Patania diversitie of language and writing.

In Patania they use the Malayan, Syan and China language: the Malayan writing like the Arabecke, the Syan like the Europian; and all most in Latine characters, the Chinese from the right hand but downewards. Adultery is punished with death inflicted by their parents in what kind themselves chuse. Common women are commonly offered to strangers to do household service by day, and other offices at night. Some of the Syanites weare two or three silver balles (or of other metall) in their yeards, inserted betwixt the skinne and flesh, as big sometimes as a Tennis ball. The Countrey is fruitfull and wholesome. Their Geese and Duckes lay twice a day: the woods are stored with wild beasts; there are Turtles with faire feathers like Parrets. They take wild Elephants in fight with a tame, put into the woods of purpose, whiles both are fastned by the teeth, some men behind with ropes captiving the wild. They arrived at the Ramekins the fifteenth of July, 1604.

Balls in yards. One cut out one out of his yard before Cap. Saris and gave it him.

Herman de Bree. Werts Voyage to Zeilan.

IN the yeere 1602. a Fleet of fourteene saile were sent out under the command of Wibrand Warwicke Admirall, and Sabalt de Wert Vice-admirall: the Maurice of foure hundreth tunnes, the Holland three hundreth and fiftie, the Nassau three hundreth and fortie, the Sunne two hundreth and eightie, the Moone two hundreth and fiftie, the Starre one hundreth and eightie, the Parret a Pinnasse of five and twentie; all by Amsterdam. Three Zelanders, one of foure hundreth, the Flushing two hundreth and fiftie, the Goose one hundreth and fourtie: by the Enchuseners two, the Hedge two hundreth and twentie, the Virgin one hundreth seventie and five: by the Roterdamians two, the Erasmus two hundred and fiftie, and Roterdam eightie. It was determined that the three

Zelanders should goe for Zeilon and Achen, the Maurice and Moone to the Moluccas, the Nassau and Erasmus to China, the Holland, Hedge and Starre to Achen, the Sun, Virgin, &c. to Bantam. In the Hedge, Herman de Bree was Cape Merchant. These all, (but the three Zelanders which went three moneths before) set out from the Tessell the seventeenth of June, 1602. The tenth of March they came to Achen. There they found the three Zelanders, and Spilbergs two ships. Sebalt de Wert the Vice-admirall, the eight and twentie of November, 1603. came to Zeilon, & went with sixe Elephants fourtie leagues journey to Candes or Candy, & had beene honourably entertained with his fifteene followers. ' He was brought into the City as if he had beene a King, the Citizens and Souldiers making a rancke halfe a * mile long on both sides the way, and such a thundering of Ordnance, and sound of trumpets, that none could bee heard speake. To the Court he was had with like pompe, where he saw the Royall Counsell, & Prince Maurice his picture, with a stately Carpet before it to receive his Presents. The King stood in a place by himselfe with his children, before whom he fell on his knees, and was taken up presently, and demaunded what Countriman he was, and wherefore he came: who answered, of Holland, governed by that Prince there pourtraied; whereat they all rejoyced, having placed it there to trie whether he knew it, and the truth of Spilbergs relation. He added that he came for trade of Merchandize. The King protested much his hatred to the Portugall: and after asked how he durst without pledge or any assurance, adventure so farre into that Countrey: hee answered, because the Portugals were hated alike of both their Princes; whereat they laughed. In more private conference, he promised with twenty thousand men to besiege the Portugall Castle Columbo, if the Hollanders would prevent helpe from Goa: and would give the Hollanders all their Castles which he should take, and would reserve his Merchandizing for them. The next day he feasted him, give him before a golden tooth-picke, now a

*Dutch.

[I. v. 714.]

Promise to the Hollanders.

bowle of gold wherein he made his little daughter to drinke to him: and if his sonne were old enough, said, he would send him to Prince Maurice to be instructed in Martiall discipline. At his departure he gave him twenty five Quintals of Cynamon, and sixteene of Pepper, and honourable convoy to his ships.

He notified these things to his fellowes at Achen, and counselled them to embrace these opportune promises. For they could not easily be provided of Merchandize.

Two French ships. They had heard of two French ships, one shipwracked at the Maldavæ, the other returned with a small victory: as

**Sir James Lancaster.* also the state of the English there, which had taken * a prize, and built a store-house at Achen. Thus sixe ships with a Pinnasse, set foorth the third of Aprill, not a little heartned by the old and young King of Achen, who sent an Embassadour with them to Zeilon. They lost many in the calmes betwixt the sixteenth and one and twentieth of Aprill. On the foure and twentieth they arrived, and marched in battell array on the sixe and twentieth to

Motecalo. Motecalo. The king there entertained them well: but their Religion prohibiting to eat Beeves and Buffals, whereof they had great plenty; they would not sell any to the Hollanders. They were disquieted with Flies also and Gnats which would not suffer them to sleepe; against which the Natives make fire and smoake all the night the

The sacrilegious murther of Beeves. place where they sleepe. Some unruely persons caused great disturbance by killing of certaine Kine, and could not appease them with offering satisfaction: and seeking to make the King intercessor for them to the owners, he also tooke it to heart, and said the Portugals had never offered such indignitie, neither could he any longer tolerate such wrongs: some forsooth, imagined that the soules of the oxen (had themselves any?) thus slaine were precipitated to hell. Yet at last upon promise of better abearing, he was intreated.

The thirteenth of May, they had answere of their letter

Punto de Gallo. to the King of Candy, now encamped at Manacrawari, desiring the Hollanders to come with their ships to Punto di

Gallo, promising to besiege it first, and to give the Hollanders that which he had promised, and one thousand Quintals of Cynamon, and as much Pepper for tribute, that being wonne. He desired also the Vice-admirall to meet him at Vintane, halfe way betwixt Metacalo and Candy. Meane while the Hollanders tooke three Portugall ships, two of two hundreth tunnes, the third of seventie, and after that a fourth of eightie, but the goods not worth the while, except to gratifie the King of Candy: two of them they sent away with the Prisoners according to promise, which was very distastefull to the King. The first of June, two hundred choise men were set on shoare to meet the King in best array: but he desired the Vice-admirall to stay with him and send his men aboord, to come in like manner the next day. Thus they which made speed, saved their lives; the rest doubting no evill, were most of them slaine. The next day they understood by a letter from the King of the death of the Vice-admirall with his retinue, pretending his insolence, and offering good termes or warre, as they pleased.

Vintane.

Sep. Wert and 49. Hollanders slaine: They write that the King suspected him of treason, as intending to take and ship him: some impute it to the delivery of the Port prisoners: some too peremtory words used to the King.

The sixteenth, they had letters againe by a Germane of Candy from the King, swearing all kindnesse before promised, if they would helpe him take Gallo and Columbo: to which they answered, they were ready to trade at shoare, but for the fortresses their ships were, some gone, and they unfit at present for that which might in fitter time be done. Many messages passed betwixt them, but little trust or trade. The nine and twentieth of July they departed. These Zeilonians worship Pagodes, of which the Hollanders saw some in Candy of five or sixe fathoms, representing Adam, as the inhabitants affirmed, proportioned by artificiall symmetry to the foot-print of Adam in a mountaine neere. The Kings of Panane, Matecalo and Poligamme, acknowledging the King of Candy their superior, who is thus reported to have attained * the Scepter. A certaine King of Sitabague fifteene leagues from Candy, about thirty yeeres before had taken Candy, the King whereof with this his sonne and

Adam.

**See before Spilbergs Voyage.*

daughter fled to the Portugals, who at Goa, baptized him by the name of John of Austria, (as is beforesaid) and brought him up in Columbo. But Candy rebelling against the other King, the Portugals sent him after that King's death to Candy, where he was acknowledged King, and then followed that which before you had of the Kings daughter (of Sitebague.) To returne to the Dutch, they returned to Achen, and thence againe to the Ile of Daru neere Sumatra, and thence after divers Portugall prizes taken to Maccasser. They learned of an Iland called Ende, famous with a Volcano or burning hill called Gunoapi. At last, they (not knowing whether to goe) came to Jor, where they helped the King against the Portugall Fleet. Thence they went to Patane, whether they came the first of November, 1603. Here they heard of the Erasmus and Nassau, there taking a rich ship sayling to Japan neere to Macao: after they had pillaged her, they burnt her. After trade here they returne to Bantam and home.

Daru.
Macesser.
Ende.

Venas Voyage.

Pan or Pahan.

[I. v. 715.]

Patani, Patane, or Patania.

Great China Juncke.

COrnelius de Vena in another ship of that Fleet, saith, they came the twentie one of June to Pulo Timon, on the three and twentieth to Pahan, where the King received them kindly, on the first of July to Patani, and agreeing with a Chinese to conduct them to Canton, they set saile on the eleventh, and found no matter of great note till the thirtieth, when they came to Macao, and tooke a Portugall ship bound for Japan; the Portugals fleeing and leaving them their ship with the goods and twentie Blackes; these they set on shoare, and having lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and set saile for Bantam. On the eighteenth of September, they encountred a great Juncke which they supposed to be Portugals, and after a hot fight forced her, found them Chineses, and were sorrie that they had ignorantly hurt their friends; seventie of which perished, one the Captaine, whose valour lost himselfe and them: they let them depart with their goods in friendship. The sixteenth of

December, they arrived at Bantam, and the thirtieth of August, 1604. at the Tessell.

IN the yeare, 1603. twelve ships were sent under the command of Stephen Verhagen. They set saile the eighteenth of December. On the seven and twentieth of June, they came to Mosambique and anchored without the Castle, in sight and spight whereof they tooke a Portugall ship in the Harbour, and after that divers other Vessels. But not able to doe any thing memorable against the Iland; On the five and twentieth of August, they departed, and the sixteenth of September, came before Goa, but found the Portugals so provided that they imagined themselves before betrayed, and their designe bewrayed in Europe. *Verhagens Voyage.* *Goa.*

On the fourteenth of October, they therefore departed for Cananor, whither they came on the sixe and twentieth, but by intercession of the King they remooved to Calecut, where they tooke a Portugall ship with Powder and Provision bound for Zeilan. *Cananor.* *Calecut.*

The third of November, they had fight with nine Portugall ships in which many were slaine, none taken. The eighth of November, they entred league with the Samorine, ratified by Oath and Instrument in writing.

It was ordered that the Zeland and Enchusen should goe for Cambaya, the rest to Cochin, before which they came on the fourteenth, but attempted nothing. On the two and twentieth, they sailed before Columbo, and shot at the Castle. *Cambaya.* *Cochin.*

The second of January they came to Bantam, the Delffe staying at Achen to returne their Embassador. On the seventeenth, they departed for the Moluccas. The one and twentieth of February, they came to Amboyna, and assayled the Castle, which without further adoe was delivered on composition of free passage for such Portugals as would, and such as would to stay, the Castle and Ordnance left to the Hollanders, which presently received the *Amboyna.* *Castle taken.* *See Sir H. Mid. of this whom they slander for assisting the Port.*

Dutch Colours: forty sixe marryed Portugals staying and swearing allegiance to the States, sixe hundred others departing.

Castle of Tidore wonne, and the Portugals driven out of the Moluccas: see the later state in Capt. Saris, l. 4. c. 1. & Spilberg, p. 87.

Five ships were thence sent to Tidore, the Horne remayning here, and the Admirall going to Banda. Those five arrived at Tidore, on the second of May, 1605. On the fift, the Vice-Admirall summoned the Castle to yeeld, which the Portugals refused and manfully defended their honour against the Assailants, till an unfortunate fire, (how or whence uncertaine) lighting in their Powder blew up a great part of their Castle with sixtie or seventie of their men. This forced them to yeeld, and consequently, they were dispossessed of all the Moluccas, except Solor. The King of Ternata with fourteene Corocoras, contayning each one hundred and fortie Souldiers, aided the Hollanders, and held fast the King of Tydore, both prooving Spectators of the European Prize. They razed the Castle.

This yeare 1605. the King of Spaine had made a terrible Edict against the Hollanders, forbidding Trade with them under grievous penalties. But prohibition without inhibition is vaine: and the Foxe the more he was cursed, thrived the better. For in the same yeare, they sent forth Cornelius Matelivius with twelve ships, foure of which were seven hundred tunnes each. The next yeare Paulus à Caerden was set forth with eight other in May, 1606. Anno 1607. the Peace or Truce being in treatie, they set forth another Fleet of thirteene sayle under Peter Williamson Verhuef. Anno 1608. three ships returned laden with Spices, three hundred tunnes of Cloves, one hundred of Nutmegs, fiftie of Mace, &c.

Mateliff's Expedition.

MAtelivius having in charge to enter league with the Indian Kings against the Portugals, in the end of Aprill, 1606. sent to the King of Jortan* to ayde him, who came with two thousand Blackes, and on the tenth of May, they both went on shoare against Malacca, and possessed the Suburbs. But continuing their siege to little pur-

*Jor.

Malacca besieged.

pose, and hearing of the Portugall Fleet comming, they arose & on the seventeenth of August set sayle to encounter the Armada consisting of fourteene great ships, and as many smaller. A terrible Sea-fight followed, in which the Hollanders were forced to forsake the Mauritius one of their best ships, and Mateliff himselfe was in great distresse by three Portugall shippes (together with the Midleborough) till others comming into his helpe with firie shot, hee freed himselfe: but the Midleborough with two Portugall ships fastened to it were burnt together, the men saving themselves in the boats (as well as they could) of other ships. The Hollanders diverted to their confederate Kings, the Portugals going to Malacca, where having left seven of their ships, the rest returned. The Dutch having now repayred themselves tooke this oportunitie, and make an unexpected returne, took one of the Portugall ships, slue the men, fired the Vessell; two others fighting with the Dutch Vice-Admirall, fell both on fire and were consumed in both Elements, Anger: a fourth also yeelded; the rest were fired by the Portugals at Malacca, being before disfurnished, lest they should fall into the Enemies power.

Sea fight.

See of this fight, pag. 421.

[I. v. 716.]

Dutch women and families sent. Japan. The Dutch also enterprised a new Trade at the Cape of Good Hope, for trayne Oyle & Seales skinnes, and Oxe hides: of which Isaac le Maire brought home at once 45000. *Seale skinnes, and* 500. (*vasa*) 803. *sheads of trayne, &c.*

I omit Admirall Peter Both, sent with a notable Fleet, Anno 1609. with Garison Souldiers, with women also and families sent to inhabit; and a ship that returned from Japan, 1610. where she had the Emperors license of Trade and had left a Factorie: and another shippe sent thither, 1611. and the fortie tunnes of Gold which that Japan ship and another are said to have brought backe. I have done sufficient in this Treasurie of Navigations, to shew the beginnings as of the Spanish and Portugall before, so here also of the Dutch Plantations in the Indies, and in the course of our English Voyages we have many of theirs interlarded, thus many Rivers bringing us into an immense Sea of their present Trade. But because Banda was the banefull and banned occasion of this digression, you may see in divers of ours, also Relations of the Dutch doings and sufferings there, as 1606. some of their men

slaine whiles they sought Trade, and of the quarrels betwixt the Ilanders and them continuing long after: and I have thought good briefely to adde the Historie of their forcible possession thereof by Verhuef, out of their owne Relations.

Sup. p. 385. *See Floris* 321. & 324. *Capt. Keeling, Middleton, &c.*

Peter Williamson Verhues, or Verhoes, or Haus.

VErhuef with a Navie of nine ships and foure Pinnasses, the three and twentieth of December, 1607. set saile from the Tessell. The thirteenth of July, 1608. they saw the Land of Sofala: on the eight and twentieth, they came to Mozambique, where they tooke a ship under the Castle most of the Portugals having runne away, very rich, but casually or by the Portugals set on fire the next night whereby great part of the goods were lost. They tooke also two Pinnasses. A thousand men they set on shoare in sixe Bands, commanded by Captaine Bitter, on the nine and twentieth, but found none in the Towne but five or sixe Portugals, and a few olde folkes, children and Blacke slaves, three hundred with fiftie Turkes, whom they set at libertie and set on shoare in safer places. The Towne they found great, with convenient houses, wals, two Churches and Monasteries. The Merchants had conveyed themselves into the Castle, but left much goods behind to the Dutch prey.

Mosambike taken, and the Castle besieged.

The first of August, they began to batter the Castle. On the tenth, they went into the continent and destroyed two Villages. But the Monson being neere, they raysed their siege the eighteenth, fortie of them being slaine, and an hundred wounded; and having burned a Towne and Monasterie in an adjoyning Iland they departed. They

Bon Jesus taken.

tooke a Portugall ship called the Bon Jesus, on the one and twentieth whereby they understood that nine Gallions and five other great ships had beene sent from Lisbone, towards the East Indies, of which Company this ship was separated from her consorts by foule weather. They fought with the Dutch nine houres, who found in her remayning, one hundred and fortie Souldiers of one hundred and ninetie.

On the eighteenth of September, they anchored before Goa. On the sixe and twentieth, they sent the Arnold to Coromandel where they had great trading. The fift of October, they sayled along the Malabar Coast to refresh themselves neere Cananor, and on the eight towards Calicut. On the eleventh, the Admirall with two hundred men visited the Samorine, who on the thirteenth and fourteenth sent out Hunters which killed above fortie great Boares, and gave to the Hollanders. He delivered to the Samorine the Captaine and Cape Merchant of the Bon Jesus; the ship they had before sunke. On the sixteenth he set saile, on the two and twentieth came before Zeilon. The two and twentieth of November, they came before Malacca, where they tooke a Portugall ship, and fired it, the goods beeing by the Inhabitants before carryed away.

Goa.

Coromandel.

Samorine.

Malacco.

On the foure and twentieth, they sent to the King of Jor to acquaint him with their purpose to besiege and take the Towne and Castle of Malacca. On the six and twentieth, they set men on shoare in the little Iland of Saint Peter, where the next day the Portugals set on them and lost their Admirall with three Captaines and sixe prime Officers, besides many of the meaner. Of the Hollanders seven were slaine and three taken. On the eight and twentieth, fifteene Frigats of Blackes Pirats adjoyned themselves to the Hollanders. But the King of Jor could afford no helpe, his Fleet being then abroad. Some Vessels being taken and their three men recovered by exchange of Prisoners, they departed on the nine and twentieth.

The tenth of January they went to Jor, and the King with his Sonne and Brother with twelve Frigats came to the Fleet on the fourteenth. His name is Ratispont: he had on a white Cotton Wastcote to his knees with a fringe hanging to the feet, silken Sandals, a blacke Shash on his head, three Gold Chaines about his necke, with many Jewels annexed, two thicke gold Rings on his left arme and one on his right, sixe on his fingers, a Crisse

Ratispont King of Jor describea.

very artificiall in sheath of solid Gold set with many Diamonds, Saphires, Carbuncles (valued at fiftie thousand Florens) of meane stature, comely shape, moderate speech, whitish complexion, having with him thirtie Wives; his Frigat adorned gallantly with a Tent, borne up with foure golden Pillars. His seat is in New Jor.

[I. v. 717.] The fourteenth of February, they came to Bantam. On the second of April, 1609. they came to Teraltas twenty foure leagues, from which is a Rocke burning in the Sea, halfe an houres journey in circuit, with a huge opening in the top alway smoking. On the eight arrived at Banda. There he found Captaine Keeling in Trade for the English Company, with other Dutch ships for theirs (the English having begunne and continued Trade ever since the beginnings in manner of that Societie, Captaine Colthurst who went with Sir Henry Middleton, in the second Voyage, having spent one and twentie weekes in trading at Banda.) The Dutch ships belonged to the Fleet of Paul van Caerden.

See l. 2. c. 5. & 6. See Ind. Orient. par. non. Pag. 216. These Ilands of Banda, saith Verkius, the Author of this Journall, and one of the chiefe Commanders, are seven in number, about ten leagues in circuit, eightie leagues from the burning Rocke: the best Ilands in all the East, producing Mace and Nutmegs to serve the whole World.

The people in them are supposed ten or twelve thousand. Banda libera est Respub, saith Pontanus, in his Historie of Amsterdam: Banda is a free Common-wealth (as before, Regem nullum agnoscunt, they acknowledge no King, or in Dutch English, They are Free States) and for the King of Ternata, Isacius sleights it off as a trifle, quamvis. Ternatensis partem aliquam territorii vindicare sibi videatur: Some seeming of some challenge of some part; that is, some nothing. Thus the Story of Amsterdam written and printed of, and at Amsterdam, purposely handling these Indian Affaires. Neither did Verhuef now challenge that or any right, or have any of their Journals which I have seene published, so much as mentioned any

such challenge or broken title, on that Kings part, or such acknowledgement on theirs, that any should now become redemptor litium, or incurre a Writ of Champertie in his behalfe, which yet the English might best doe, as appeares in Sir Francis Drakes Voyage. Their cruel warres which the Hollanders found betwixt them at their first comming before mentioned, shew that no Superiour interposed (as was just cause) to command better abearing.

Verhuef on the ninth (as Keeling hath it, or after their Story, which I follow, all these Relations of the Dutch, and after their New stile, nineteene) went on shoare at Ortattan, where the Orankayas, or the States and Governours assembled: Here he caused Prince Maurice his Letters to be carryed before him in a silver Dish covered, and was met by an Orankaya, and convayed under a great Tree, where were two hundred of the Chiefes sitting crosse-legged like Taylors (after their manner) and he conveniently set, and his Letters read in Portugall first, and after in Malayan. The Contents whereof were, that Prince Maurice understanding that the Ilanders had not kept promise with the Hollanders to have Trade onely with them, who had now traded there sixe yeares and beene at great charges, and were often much abused; did therefore desire them to permit the Hollanders to build some Castle in some of those Ilands in place most fit for them, not thereby to endammage any way the Inhabitants, but to defend themselves and the whole Countrey from Portugals, which happily might come thither: the Hollanders being to satisfie them for the place and for stones and all appurtenances to the structure, and no way to be troublesome to the Inhabitants. These Letters being read, the people were in an uprore, and but for feare of their shipping would have slaine the Hollanders, as after appeared. But consulting amongst themselves in present, answered, that he should depart aboord his ships, and they would communicate the businesse with the rest of the Ilands, and in three dayes give him an answere; which was given on the two and twentieth, and proved a flat

See of this letter, pag. 199. *Here marke no right of the Hollanders or Ternata pretended. See also the Dutch allegations to Keeling,* 202. & 203. *The Hollanders what they cannot get by intreatie, seeke to winne by force.*

Negative: Whereupon the Hollanders provided themselves for fight, and some went on shoare and fought with them the same evening: One ship also and two Pinnasses they sent to Nera, that the ship Companies might forrage that Iland at pleasure.

On the foure and twentieth, the Ilanders came to the Admirall and desired three dayes respite, which the Hollanders denyed, but said, they would next day try by force their fortunes with them: which answere received, they soone returned with answere, that the Ilanders thought better to abstayne from battell and to permit them to build a Castle on Nera. On the five and twentieth, sixe Companies of Hollanders (each one hundred and fiftie) went to Nera and found the Inhabitants of it and Rato, fled to the other side of the Iland: wherefore they kept good watch.

The third of May, was a great Earthquake (not unusuall in those parts) and the fourth they began their Castle in Nera, or Nero. On the one and twentieth, the Ilanders sent to the Admirall desiring him to appoint a place where they might meet and conferre. The next day hee went with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers to a place neere Rato, halfe an houres way distant from the New founded Castle: and the Fiscall went to the Ilanders to bid them send some with full power to treate. They sent to desire the Admirall that he would meete their Orankayas or State-Governours in a Grove; for some of them feared his forces there where hee was, lest the Souldiers should offer them violence.

**The Bandaneses still objectVerhuess basenesse in crying at his death, which they thinke more childish then manly and brave.*

The Admirall hereupon with his Militarie Councell, two Gunners and two Boyes went amongst them, commanding the Souldiers to looke to their Armes and expect his returne. But they within a quarter of an houre hearing a great cry * in the Wood, and two Peeces discharged, sent Vercius to see what was the matter, with sixe Musketiers, who had scarsly gone thirtie paces into the Wood, before they were incountred by a great company of Blackes, at whom they discharging their peeces,

[I. v. 718.]

the other souldiers came in and rescued them, putting the Blackes to flight, and in the chase found the Admirall and his Company slaine, whom they brought on their shoulders to their new founded Castle. Of the Hollanders were that day slaine in all forty two persons. On the three and twentieth, they slew the Dutch Fiscall with divers others. On the thirtieth, the Hollanders with two Companies spoyled all they could in the Iland. On the twelfth of June, the Dutch killed fiftie Blackes in a Junke. On the thirteenth, the Castle being well-nigh finished, was named Nassau, of James Bitter the Captaine;

Verhues, the Dutch Admiral with many others treacherously slaine.

Nassau Castle in Nera. Supplem. Nonæ partis Ind. Orient.

On the three and twentieth of July, the Hollanders attempted Slanga, a towne of the Blacks, but returned with the losse of thirtie, and one hundred hurt: Bitter himselfe having his legge broken, whereof he after died. On the fourteenth of August, the Ilanders sent to treat of a peace, saying, that though they had offended the Hollanders in killing the Admirall and chiefe men, yet they also should remember what harmes they had done to the Ilanders, in subverting their Cities * and Temples, firing their Villages and Forts, with great slaughters every where. The Hollanders answered, that they would grant peace, on condition they would sweare that they would thereafter have trade with none other Nation * whatsoever it were, but sell all their Nuts and Mace to the Hollanders onely; who on the other side promised to defend them from their enemies, and to provide them of Rice and necessaries for food, with a reasonable price for their wares. On these conditions, peace was concluded, and by oath on the Alcaron confirmed, the fifteenth of August.

**Marke the usages alledged by our men against their Sepulchres & Meskits.*

**There was no Europian Nation then in trade with them but the English: that it was done purposely against them. But see Keelings story then here, and D. Middleton, after in the third Booke before, with Floris, and other Relations, whence this businesse appeares.*

How brittle this forced peace was, appeareth before by the Journalls of Captaine Keeling then there, and David Middleton soone after, and by the Dutch owne stories, which complaine of their trade with Captaine Middleton, their conspiracie also against the Hollanders, the Hollanders sacking of Comber, the Blacks killing divers Hollanders in a wood, of a kinde of Siege of their Castle, bloody fight, the Castle almost famished, all in the same

yeere that this peace was concluded. So little force is made of Force, when any evasion appeareth, especially when Mercury is turned to Mars, and men begging trade will force Forts upon free States and Governours. No marvaile if hereupon they found the Hollanders perpetuall worke, as you have before read in Floris, and at last sent and obtained trade with the English, ratifying the same by resignation of so many Ilands to his Majestie: which Soveraignety the Dutch stories (by me traced, and faithfully followed in the former relations) doe no so much as mention by them sought in articles of treaty, or to them by the Ilanders offered. Hence the warres betwixt the English and Dutch: and the hatefull disasters before recited: the Hollanders making a bridge of English ships to get over English bodies and blood to these Ilands, even without denutiation of warre, fore heard of.

Having now gathered this out of the Dutch owne Histories and Journalls, I presume not to dispute (for even they themselves and these their Historians being judges) who seeth not the state of the case. But I have thought good to adde for further illustration; this relation of their gaine by that trade, as one of that society hath lately published: after which I will give you the testimony of the Priest of Poolaroone (a man there of great esteeme) touching the Banda case, a Discourse of mine owne added for illustration: and that men may not misconstrue these things, to the distaste of the Hollanders in generall, but rather of some of their Maiors or Commaunders and Committees there (which you may understand also in like differences with the Portugals) I have added (to end this businesse) an extract of a little Booke translated out of Dutch, which as he speaks meanely of their gaines by this trade; so hee imputeth the fault to the ill government and Governours.

DUTCH GAINS IN THE EASTERN TRADE

The gaines which the Hollanders had gotten by the East India trade, taken out of a Booke Translated out of the Dutch, perswading to a West Indie Trade.

NOw to let you see how much we should be hindered, if we should leave off the East Indian Trade, & the like hinderance, we should consequently also faile of touching the power and strength of these Countreyes. In the Records of the East Indian Company it appeareth, that from Anno 1595. to Anno 1601. included, they sent out fortie and sixe ships, whereof there arrived three and fortie againe in these Countreyes richly laden. Ships that brought for returne, (all charges deducted) two hundred and thirtie Tunnes of gold, cleare gaines for the Merchants of the said Company. Further, by the records and Bookes of the said East Indian Company: it is also shewed, that for the space of eleven yeeres we had still about thirtie ships continually in East India, with five thousand Sea-faring men, and that they expected to receive from thence at least three hundred Tuns of gold in capitall, besides that which they had in the land. Now I refer it to your judgement, what the said Company in the last ensuing tenne yeeres untill this time hath gained? who within the time of sixe moneths, have had a good returne of fortie Tuns of gold, I doubt not but you have heard of the rich lading that the two ships brought hether, within the space of a moneth, being valued to be worth foure and twenty Tuns of gold, in such manner, that the particular partners from Anno 1605. (every mans [I. v. 719.] full adventure being delivered in) have gained upon every hundred Gilders, unto this day, in ready money, the summe of two hundred Gilders, and whensoever any man will sell his stocke (which at this time he hath in the Company) which he may doe when he will, he may for every hundred have two hundred and thirtie Gilders: whereunto adde the Interest, which the partners (from the

first money received) to this present have gained, which also is halfe a capitall, there resteth to the partners particularly, upon every hundred, if they have ventured and traded sixteene yeeres in the East Indian Company, in cleare gaines above foure hundred Gilders. I speake not this by report, but as a witnesse thereof, being one of the partners, that have received my part of the gaine, and may have the rest within eight dayes, if I will sell my stocke, which I may at all times doe.

Secondly, we may by the Trade used by the said Company, untill the yeere 1614. included, declare and prove, that the custome houses of the Countrey, by meanes of convoyes, licences, tolls, and customes, which the said East Indian Company have, and pay, inward and outward, have profited and received above five and thirtie Tunnes of gold, for the which the States of the land, have at some times (as neede required) ayded the said Company towards their warres in India, with money and ships: partly to ease the said Company of some portion of their charge. Now, what they have received in the custome-houses of the Countrey, from Anno 1614. to Anno 1621. without doubt it is a greater summe, and much more then the former, noting what a rich returne they have made within these seven yeeres. Now to shew what furtherance and benefit the common people have had and gotten by this East Indian Trade, we must note, that a Fleet of twelve ships, doth cost in money and all other things thereunto belonging, about eighteene Tunnes of gold, to set and send it foorth; and commonly there is not above five or sixe Tunnes of gold in ready money sent out with it: all the rest is bought and prepared here in the land, to the great benefit and welfare of the Countrey, and gained by the Inhabitants, that sell and deliver the same. And every ship that comes home againe, one with another, payeth above a Tunne of gold for monthly wages, whereby the Officers and Saylers also are inriched, which also is gotten and spent by and among the Inhabitants: whereby it is

manifest, what the common people have profited; besides, the great number of so many thousand people, that by meanes of this Trade aforesaid, are set on worke, and well paid for it, to the great comfort and benefit of many poore people.

Thirdly, to shew what the publike Common-wealth hath yet further gotten by this Trade, you must understand, that the greatest profit of the land consisteth in the most great hurt and damage which the enemie hath first and last endured, and yet endureth in East India: for since that we were prohibited to Trade and Trafficke in Spaine, and other of the Spanish territories (which notwithstanding against his will, by other Nations we doe continue with good profit) from Anno 1596. we have overcome and spoyled eleven of his great huge Carrackes, Gallies, and other great ships, and have made about fortie of his ships unserviceable; besides those, that in the last ten yeeres ensuing, we have spoyled and taken: whereby our enemies trade there, hath beene greatly impaired, and ours, by Gods blessing (who onely is to be praysed therefore) to the admiration of the whole world, is greatly encreased. In such manner, that the Staple of all manner of Spices, and other rich and costly Wares, which for the space of two hundred yeeres together was in Venice, (whereby the said Towne encreased and became exceeding rich) and after that by meanes of their Navigation, was in Portugall, for the space of one hundred yeeres: and lastly, for five and twenty yeeres hath beene in Holland and Zeland, and since that by a good agreement made, the last yeere was also brought into England: in such sort, that the King of Spaines Merchants, were forced in the yeeres aforesaid (contrary to all mens expectations) to buy Nutmegs, Cloves and Mace of us.

He reckoneth the Kings losse yeerly above one hundred tunne of gold, besides what the Portugalls lose.

I will briefly declare, the present state of the said Company in East India. You must understand, that matter of Trafficke is in very good termes, which wee hope by Gods helpe and blessing, shall from yeere to yeere still be better and better, now the Englishmen (by meanes of a

contract made with them a yeere since) joyne their forces with ours: and we for our parts have in East India, that are comming home and here in the Countrey, above fiftie ships, double furnished with lusty Saylers, as also all other things fit for the War, and for so long a Voyage, and about ten strong Forts, whereof some we have taken from the Enemie; the rest have beene erected at the great cost and charges of the Company, and made defensible, which for the securitie of our owne people and goods, as also for the defence of our confederates are sufficiently provided. Lastly, when they of Bantam began to lay an extraordinary toll upon our Nation, and caused us to pay fiftie per cento custome, and yet we could not for all that obtaine licence of them, to build a Ware-house of stone and Morter, for the securitie of our Wares and Merchandizes, for that being of wood, it was twice burnt: we were constrained to transport our Trade in Bantam to another convenient place, which is a firme Iland, and hath many good and convenient Havens in it: for in my writings I finde, that five yeeres past, Mataram the great Emperour of Java, who is able to bring three hundred thousand men into the field, dwelling about one hundred miles distant from Bantam, had also sought to make some contract of alliance with us, offering to deliver us Pepper toll free, and licence to build us a Castle of Morter and Stone, with all things convenient in Japara, which was not well liked off by the King of Bantam and his Lieutenant. At last our Nation built a convenient Towne about Jacatra, reasonably well fortified, and called it Batavia, where there are about one thousand houses of all Nations, there to Trafficke and deale in Merchandize, which is defended and governed by a Governour, Scout, and other Officers, for the maintenance of good governement and policy, and to administer Justice unto every one: and to the end that
[I. v. 720.] before all other things, Gods service and honour might be maintained, whereby the blind Heathens might be brought out of their great darkenesse, and young children taught the knowledge of the truth of Jesus Christ our Saviour:

the Company diligently and carefully tooke order, to erect a Church and a Schoole therein, to the which end they sent thither certaine learned men, as at the first also they did, which with great benefit and encrease, have taught the Heathens the Gospell of Christ in their owne language, as well as unto our men in their language: In such manner, that a King and a Prince of Amboyna, (where the Country people are much addicted unto devillish and heathenish superstitions) sent two of their sonnes into these Countreys, with a Letter unto the Prince of Orange, to have them brought up at Schoole, and taught our language, and Christian Religion, that they might at their returne into East India, be a meanes of planting the Church of Christ there in India, and learne how to defend their owne native Countrey.

The Relation of the Priest of Poolaroone, touching the beginnings and occasions of quarrells betwixt the Dutch and Bandaneses, written in the Malayan language with his owne hand, in a very faire Arabecke letter, and the sense rendred to me in English by M. Rob. Haies.

THis is the beginning of contentions betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandaneses. Two Hollanders ranne from them and turned Slammes or Mahumetans, and in the Priests house at Nero were slaine by three Hollanders, which in revenge were slaine by the Natives, who stayd not there, but in the fury slew other three Hollanders. This was ill done of them, to adde a double revenge. Soone after the Generall of the Hollanders, came thither with thirteene ships, and demanded satisfaction for the slaughter of his Countrimen. The Bandaneses offered Diet (that is, the wonted satisfaction there used for manslaughter, in money) for those last three. But the Generall answered, that he came not now to demand satisfaction, but to make peace and league with them, which was done. The next yeere came another Holland Generall,

Peter Williamson Verhuef, with fifteene ships into the Haven of Nero, and asked leave to set up a Fort at Tanjung Ratoo, or Ponit Ratoo, which the Bandaneses granted; but then he refused it, and demanded leave to erect a Fort in another place at Tanjung Minangis, which they refused. But he comming before the Castle of Nero, with his ship and Ordnance, terrified the inhabitants, which fled away, and he possessed the Castle, and fortified there. Then did the Bandaneses subtilly dissemble friendship, and slew the Generall, and fifteene Captaines, with others about one hundred men, in all.

A discourse of those warres, and the effects with their causes, briefly presented in a short Summarie.

HEnce the Warres betwixt the Dutch and Bandaneses: and hence the Warre so portentuous in the midst of peace (not betwixt the two Nations their Princes and States, which hold confederacie and amitie, but) betwixt our Merchants and theirs, our Mariners and theirs, our Sea-Commanders and theirs; the two Indian Companies in those parts (the guiltie of them) as it were growing fierce with infection of those fiercer Nations, changing their conditions more then their complexions, travelling from themselves in so farre Navigations, putting off with their warmer clothes in that hotter Climate, their solid vertues, putting on Heathenish qualities with their commerce; putting up fierie ferity with their hot Spices, putting out in great part humanitie, civilitie, Christianitie, in those various Currents and diversified Seas, Shoalds, Ilands. And who can but be amused and amazed with wonder at such prodigious transformations, that so neere Neighbours in Region, (parted with a narrow Channell) neerer yet in long societie of Armes, (sealed with so many lives and deaths against one enemie,) and neerer then all names of neerenesse, in the neerest, deerest, and sweetest of names, Religion (both professing in substance one Reformation,) that this threefold Cord hath beene so easily broken; their reformation in Religion become a deformation of Religion

amongst unbeleeving Ethniks and misbeleeving Papists: their following the same Armes by sea and land became a trayning to greater harmes to each other by sea and land: that propinquitie of dwelling should make remotenesse of Neighbourhood; and what neither Portugall policies, nor Infidell treacheries could doe, themselves might doe, to their owne undoing with their owne hands; and the hearts of both Nations at home might bee in danger of dis-joyning, by the dis-joynted parts and Factions abroad; the sparkes of that fire of Hell seeming to breake out at Goun Apee with that terrible Earthquake before mentioned, unto a more terrible heart-quake, there to set that world on fire, and here to endanger this. Sphæres have beene hereby turned to Speares; Wares (with addition of a canine letter) to Warres; Words (with a new hissing sound from that old Serpent) into Swords; Ships charge of so many Tunnes in freight to discharge of so many Gunnes in fight; Merchants to Martialists, exchanging their gayn-good (or gayn-god) Mercury, for those payn-gods or devils Mars and Mors, or that wonted function which Poëticall Divinitie ascribed to Mercury, of patronising Merchandise, for that other of conducting Soules to Hell. Hercules hath brought up Cerberus that Hell-monster, and set him unchained on the Indian shoares, with the three Infernall Furies crowning his triple head; and hence have we had this Hell upon Earth. Such is Warre, and especially when the sonnes of Peace make Warres, when unchristian Christians warre together: when the sonnes of God see these faire daughters of men (the riches of Infidels) and take them Wives where they lust (will not Woo with trafficke, but ravish by force, nor make their Voyage but a Conquest) is it any marvell if the issue proove Giants, and the Earth be filled with violence? (Even the Poëts also fabled their Giants to be Neptunes Sonnes.) Hence is Commerce Divine and humane empayred, Peace blowne up, Charitie blowne out, Rights of neighbourhood, and Rites of hospitalitie exiled; Mer-

See Fitz-herberts Relation.

Gen. 6.

[I. v. 721.]

Gen. 6.

chandise in unlawfull copulation with Mars procreating, I know not how, many Bastards; such are Usurpations, Oppressions, Insultations, Jealousies, Treacheries, Invasions, Lies, Force, Fraud; and the rest of that restlesse blacke Gard, hatefull to God and man: Which here I have historically expressed, not delighting in Tragedies, but (forsan & hæc olim meminisse juvabit) it will be delightfull to some to have escaped such disasters as have swallowed so many others, and profitable to posteritie, to prevent like mischiefes in the like beginnings.

See Scot sup. pag. 180. *& seqq.*

The beginning of this quarrell was first a strangenesse; whereof Syverson a Dutch Captaine is charged to be the author, whose uncivill conditions infected the rest, and made them withdraw their familiaritie with our Nation, which before they had kindly used. When this Sunne of Charitie, shining in loving Society, was set in this cloud of strangenesse, stormie weather followed, and darknesse, *Psal.* 104. 20. and it was night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest crept forth, the young Lions roared after their prey; the *Eph.* 6. 12. ghastly ghosts walked abroad in the darke, and the Rulers 1. *Th.* 5. 5. of the darknesse of this world amongst the children of Night and of darknesse domineered at pleasure. This Strangenesse, as the darknesse of Hell, opened a passage to those Hellish fires following, and was the Wombe of those Hell-bred Monsters (as privation is a preparation to habite, and corruption to generation) which were indeed many, but their three Captaines were Drunkennesse, Covetousnesse, and Pride (this that threefold Head of Cerberus, and triple Crowne of Furies, before mentioned.) In the first, Bacchus made a new expedition into the Indies, with a band of Racke, Rackapee, and other hot drinkes, displaying the Colours of the Flesh, oppugning the Spirit *Scott ubi sup. &c.* of God, and expugning the Reason of Man: whence so many Frayes, Braules, and sometimes Blowes, and Wounds; this Wild-fire or Ignis Græcus burning most in moisture whiles men played the Greekes. After this Vant-gard of Bacchus and the Flesh, followed the Maine battell lead by the World, arranged under the Colours

indeed of Covetousnesse, which finding some sweets of gayne, with an evill eye grudged at any partners; cohibited them by undermyning wiles, lies, pretences; prohibited by open Proclamations; inhibited by confiscations and surprizals, attended with Chains, Fetters, Prisons, Tortures, Famine, and manifold Deaths. God helpe the man that comes under the power of Covetousnesse! an over-drie, ever-thirstie fire of Hell, kindled from thence, and burning thither, still flaming on the Altar and before the Idol of the golden Calfe, and kindling there (that is in the covetous mans heart) such zeale of that devotion, that he knowes not, hates, persecutes, whatsoever stands in his way; and if he be able, answeres all objections with Jus in armis, like another Alexander, chopping that knot in sunder by force, which neither wit, learning, nor Religion could untye. After these battalions of the Flesh and the World, the Devill followes in the Rere, (though as Generall of the Field, he generally infuseth himselfe, totamque infusa per artus Mens agitat molem & magno se corpore miscet) His Standard is advanced by Pride, which having cast Angels out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradise, would dispossesse Mankind of Humanitie, Christians of Societie, the just Merchant of his Trade, and the World of Justice. Hence inordinate confusions, and the confused confounding orders of contentions, (onely by pride doe men make contention) combustions, supplantings, neglects, contempts, scornes, indignations, vexations, persecutions, exultations, insultations, insolencies, cruelties, hells. He that puts off himselfe in drunkennesse, and puts on the world in covetousnesse, shall lose both, and find the Devill, readily blowing these sparkes of Hell with the Bellowes of Pride (the divisions of Ruben are great thoughts of heart) till both he and they are encompassed with the unquenchable flames of Hell. Drunkennesse began with Bantam frayes, (search the Authors in the former storie,) Covetousnesse proceeded with prohibition of profitable Trade, wheresoever it could hinder; and with the helpe of Pride, raped Soveraigntie,

Plurima mortis imago.

The Gordian knot.

Pro. 13. 10.

Jud. 5. 15.

and reaped an enforced Jurisdiction, violently exercising the same against all gain-sayers.

The parcels summed, and a true account given of the Banda case and cause of the warres, ours and theirs.

This, as in other places, so principally in Banda. There the Stage of this Tragedie, and out of that burning hill this burning hell of Diabolicall fires first (as is said) seemed to breake forth; the first originall beginning with Apostacie (as you have heard) in some Dutch Fugitives, which perhaps to escape deserved punishment, denied that which they never had, Faith. Secondly, others in unjust Justice punishing the same with murther (expressing Piety with oppressing Impiety, blind Zeale being a hell fire indeed, a burning fire without any shining light.) Thirdly, the Bandaneses in their supposed sanctitie of Religion profaned, and Sanctuarie of their Priests house violated, see no meane in revenge, and repent at leisure what was done in hasty furie. Fourthly, this being somewhat composed, and peace made (when Revenge is asleepe) Covetousnesse awakes, and in cold bloud, by force (which intreatie could not procure) erects a Fort (that is, a Prison to the Libertie, a Store-house for the Wealth, and a Gibbet for the neckes of the Inhabitants,) that I omit the supposed sacriledge and wrongs to their Meskits and Sepulchres. In the fift place, they unable to revenge by force, borrow helpe of treacherous fraud (dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?) and kill Verhuef and the Dutch. This being pursued by Warres, is sodered a little while by Peace, but (for ought is extant) never kept on either side, and the Dutch continued Masters in their Holds, the Natives elsewhere. Which yet proving burthensome to them (as the Dutch know, other Nations have done) they sought protection of the English, and upon Composition
[I. v. 722.] surrendred themselves to his Majestie. The English name before distasted, was now detested and contemned of the Dutch, (who before had growne strange, and with whom bralls and factions had not beene strange, towards ours, with hindrance of Trade and the like) they seize our ships, goods, men, and use them as you have heard.

After which the English pretend by just force to recover

what by unjust force they had lost, and Sir Thomas Dale long after,* with Captaine Pring and others sought by offence to defend: wherein their prowesse at first succeeded, but their misfortunes after exceeded, in the casuall burning of the Blacke Lion, and in the death soone after of a more heroike Lion, Sir Thomas Dale (whose valour having shined in the Westerne, was set in the Easterne India; so farre as Death can be a solstice to Honour, whose losse the losse of the Sunne, at Engano seemed to presage) after which followed the surprizall of foure ships at Tecoo, two at Patania, another in the Straits. Egregiam verò laudem! may some say, for Men of Warre so prepared to take their opportunities of dispersed, busied, unprovided Merchants. I would I could not adde, spolia ampla refertis, except in another sense. But the Companies of both Nations, and their wiser Governours at home came to a composition, and agreed on Articles of Peace, which was on both sides there (alreadie wearied) received with joy, and published with approbation. All this notwithstanding, in the midst of this calme and faire weather, there arose a new storme at Banda, which as a beautifull and rich Bride was envied to English Armes, and seemeth by the cryes on both sides, to have beene lately ravished from her new Husband, unwarned, unarmed, I know not whither by greater force or fraud; or whither might cause greater indignation, the seizing on the English fellowes and friends the Bandaneses, with their owne goods and bodies also, casting downe their Colours and Ordnance, and abusing their persons, in one place; or the letting stand in another, their Fort, as a Cage to be showne in derision, when the Bird was fled or stolne away. This now remaynes, that violent things remayne not and are not usually permanent; and (we doubt not) the bright beames of his Majesties prudence and justice, with the mature wisedome of Prince Maurice his Excellencie, and the Illustrious Lords Governours of the united Provinces, shining on those troubled Indian waters, will like the Great God out of darknesse bring

*They tooke the Swan and the Defence, 1616. the Salomon and Attendance in March 1618. the Speedwell, &c. where as Sir Thomas Dales first fight and taking the Lion of theirs was in Decem. 1618.

*The Sunne Admirall of Sir Thomas Dales Fleet lost, pag. 634. at the Ile Engano.

light, and chastise the wrong-doers; nor will permit personall quarrels to become Nationall, or Indian bralls of Merchants to become Europæan broyles for Souldiers, but cause the remotest Members to communicate in the Heads amitie and soundnesse. This they will doe, this they doe; how soone? and it is done, and Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio. Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes. Amen.

THat it may appeare that we doe not impute the former wrongs to the Holland Nation in generall, nor seeke to make a State-quarrell with the States, Lords, Governours, and the estate of that Republike; but attribute the same to private spirits and mis-demeanure of some in authoritie and place of command in the Indies, I have added a piece of a Booke translated out of the Dutch.

**The former part of the booke which proveth this I have omitted, as lesse to our purpose.*

SO * as the Adventurers have gained nothing neere the simple interest of sixe and a quarter per cent. per ann. and ordinary assurance. By this may be gathered what profits the Adventurers have injoyed, and how thankefull they ought to be to the Maiors.

Now as concerning the government, it is a thing certaine, that be it good or bad, the profits arise accordingly, for we daily see and find that by negligence and ill government, a great estate is soone brought to nought: and on the contrary through a good diligent and provident governing, great gaines arise out of a small stocke or meanes: whereas during all this Patent, so little profit ariseth, though great gaine is ordinarily to be made in the East Indies, so as hereby may well be concluded that the same must be so, by reason of the directing or governing the same.

Ill government of the Dutch Indian Commanders.

Now as concerning the well governing: First of all, is required a good understanding and experience, which I perswade my selfe hath beene and is in many of the Maiors without all doubt, but that is not enough, except there be care & diligence withall. But what care and dili-

gence can be expected from them, who are so continually imployed in their publike Office and functions, besides their particular affaires, that they can scarce once or twice in a weeke, spend a few houres in this weightie businesse, which indeed hath need of a constant and continuing sale according as the greatnesse and importancie thereof requireth? &c. Further, is required in every Maior that he by all meanes seeke to procure the common good of that which is committed to his charge, and not his particular: but how or wherein have they hitherto sought the common good of the Companie, so long as they take a libertie to sell the Companies goods unto themselves, in which sale they no doubt seeke their owne particular profit, and not the Companies. At sometimes one Maior buying the Companies goods of another Maior; and at another time it happeneth quite contrarie, viz. that he which was at first the buyer, is now become the seller to him that formerly was the seller himselfe: one may well conjecture how these things are thus carried, by such, who it may be are not so honest as they should be; what hindrance hereby befalleth the Adventurers, and what profits to the Maiors, one may well conjecture by the small profits which the Adventurers have made, and the great wealth which the Maiors have attained unto. When as the Maiors have bought great quantitie of the Companies goods for themselves, is to be imagined what kind of Advise they will send to the Indies concerning such goods as themselves have bought, & whether their advise shal not tend to their particular profits, &c. For might one peruse their Bookes, no doubt thereby would be found, that many amongst them have little or no adventure at all with the Company, and it would plainely appeare, that their provision or factory concernes them neerer then the profit of the stocke they have there to respect, and therefore doe readily resolve to the setting foorth of great shipping or fleetes, when as fewer and smaller would have beene sufficient for Conquest, and fewer for trade from Port to Port: whereof that fleete which went through the

Seeking their owne private benefit.

[I. v. 723.]

The Maiors have little or no adventure with the Companie.

straight of Magellane was one, which fleet alone did charge the Company with more then a Capitall. It is likewise the practise of these kind of Maiors, (knowing the choice to be in their owne powers) to prefer their friends and kindred to the government, & excluding those that are great Adventurers, take ofttimes such as are none, but such as when they stand in nomination to be, doe then begin to buy conditionally so they are chosen, then their buying to stand: but if not, then the bargaine to be voyd: what good service the Company is to expect by such nimbling may well be conjectured. Besides, they ofttimes preferre their friends, to be sent as Committees and other Officers to the Indies, although very unfit thereto, whereas it highly concerneth the Company, to have both honest and fit persons there, for hardly can it be imagined the great wrong which the Company have sustained, thorow the having so basely vild, and proudly insolent Committees in the Indies. Further, what losse the Company is put unto, by the building of so great and costly ships (each Chamber striving which shall make the greatest ship, and all for great stowage, to cause the greater returne to be brought into their chamber, thereby to procure to themselves the greater factory or provision) cannot well be imagined: for as well might it be done with lesser, and ships not so costly, and so the more stocke to be imployed in Trade, or otherwise to free themselves of their interest money which great ships, are partly used to carry wood and stone in the Indies, for the building of the Fort Jacatra, some being worne and spent there, so as indeed one might have done as well betweene this and the Indies, with halfe as many great ships. Also many summes of gold have beene spent in the making of divers costly Forts & Castles in the Indies, the wals being all of stone, being King-like works, whereas to have made them of Earth, as they are here in our Countrey the Netherlands, had been as usefull for keeping the Trade from other Committies of forraine Lands: so had this needlesse charge beene employed in Trade, might have advanced

Preferring their friends to Government.

Committies sent by their procurement.

Great ships.

Their employment.

the Companie more then a Capitall. Also the Companie hath freely indured some losse, by reason of the complaint of those persons, who having done the Companie good service, could obtaine little or no Salary for the same. Whereby is befallen that some have put themselves into the service of other Companies of forraine Lands, &c.

Male-contents seeking forraine employment.

Chap. XVI.

Extracts of a Journall of a Voyage to Surat and to Jasques in the Persian Gulfe, set forth by the East India Societie of Merchants: wherein were imployed foure new ships; the London, of eight hundred Tunnes, and therein Andrew Shilling Chiefe Commander of the whole Fleet; William Baffin Master; the Hart, of five hundred Tunnes, Richard Blithe Master; he Roe Bucke, of three hundred, Richard Swan Master; the Eagle, of two hundred and eightie, Christopher Browne Master. Written by Richard Swan.

THe sixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1619. all our Fleet set saile from Tilbury Hope. The twentieth of Aprill, 1620. about eight degrees North latitude, we begin to have a taste of the Turnados. From the Downes hither we might alwayes have carried a top gallant saile. The ninth of May, we crost the Æquator. We would have crossed it more Easterly, but the Current and Winds would not permit. The tenth of June, wee saw great store of Fowle. And on the three and twentieth, wee had sight of Soldania Road, and anchored there the next day. Here wee found the Lion homeward bound, and nine Dutch ships bound for Bantam, their Commander Nicholas van Baccum a Gentleman, which by report lived seven yeeres in

Nic. van Baccum, an Oxford man, Gen. of the Dutch.

Oxford. After kind Sea-salutes, the next morning the Lion and the Dutch departed, each their way; and the same evening arrived the Schidam of Delph outward bound, which being suspected, by both Admiralls, the Master was sent for, his Commission examined, and good satisfaction given. The third of July was made a solemne publication of his Majesties Title to Soldania: and on the seventh King James his Mount erected. The three and twentieth, I had a Cable of eleven inches spoiled with other hurt, and the Hart had a great deliverance, two of her best Anchors breaking at once: and the Eagle broke two Cables. The five and twentieth, we set saile.

King James his Title to Soldania published.

Note for such as goe into Soldania Road.

Note, that if at any time you have occasion to ride under Pengwin Iland, you bring the Northerne end thereof West by South, or within halfe a Point on either side thereof: and anchor about a mile from the neerest part of the Iland, in ten, eleven or twelve fathoms, white and gray sand. Having a little passed the Cape of Good Hope, being much Wind at North-west North North-west and North, the Sea was exceedingly troubled, and went so upon heapes by the meeting of the North-west and South-east Ocean, that it laboured our ships to the triall of all their joynts.

[I. v. 724.]

Note for troublesome Sea at the Cape.

From the eight and twentieth of September, to the first of October, we were hindred eleven or twelve minutes every day by a Current to the South latitude, from one to five degrees thirtie two minutes North. The seventh of October, latitude nine degrees and fiftie minutes North. These foure and twentie houres, I have come over the Iland Rasif (one of the Mamales) as it is placed in my Card. Note, that every day since we were in sixe degrees North latitude, we have seene land Fowles, as Castrells, Quailes, Martins, Butter-flyes, but not any Sea Fowle. The nineteenth, we were due West from Batecala sixe leagues off, depth two and twentie fathoms ozie sand. The twentie two, at sixe in the morning, wee were thwart of Goa foure leagues off, the latitude is fifteene degrees and thirtie minutes, rather lesse then more. The sixe

Iland Rasif.

Batecala.

Goa.

and twentieth, we put into Dabul Road in seventeene degrees and thirtie foure minutes, and stayed till the second of November, our men refreshed and recovered, and the two ships for Persia well provided. The sixt, the Hart and Eagle, eight leagues from the high Land of Saint Johns, tooke their leave of us. The seventh, latitude twentie degrees sixteene minutes. Now are we truly West from Damon sixe leagues off, depth eighteene fathoms. The ninth in the morning, we anchored in the outter road of Swally, where we found the Wappen van Zeland, a ship of one thousand Tunnes. At our comming shee tooke in her flagge and saluted the London with three peeces, and the Roe Bucke with two. I was sent on shore and found Master Thomas Kerridge President, Master James and Master Hopkinson, whom I brought aboard. The next day, a consultation was holden for our speedie dispatch after the Hart and Eagle; foure Portugall Gallions attending at Ormus or Jasques Road for their surprisall. The nineteenth, after businesse dispatched, we set saile towards Jasques. The one and twentieth we descried a ship, which yeelded without resistance; Her name, Nostra Sennora de Morces, neere two hundred Tunne, come from Muscatte, bound for Chaul, in her two and fortie Arabian Horses, being her principall lading (as built for that purpose) the residue Dates and Raisins: the Captaines name Francisco Mirando.

Dabul.

Damon.

A Portugall prize.

The fift of December, latitude foure and twentie degrees fiftie five minutes, we met the Hart and Eagle comming from Jasques towards Surat, not being sufficient to encounter the Portugall forces there attending, to ruine our Masters Persian Trade. Thus happily rejoyned wee made haste towards Jasques to accomplish our designes. The eight, at their owne earnest sollicitation, we set all the Portugalls and Moores on land, except some Sea-men Moores whom we detayned for our service, and the Pilot which misdoubting hard measure, intreated to stay. The tenth, the Lords Supper was administred aboard the London. The twelfth, the men who voluntarily undertooke to

[I. v. 725.]

burne the Prize aboard the Portugalls Admirall, were put aboard her in the night. The thirteenth and fourteenth, the wind against us. The fifteenth, we had sight of the East Point of Land in Jasques Road, which hath upon it a Tombe or an old square flat House, bearing West Northwest, by Compasse twelve miles off. So then from Diu Head to this Point, I make the longitude by the plaine ordinarie Sea Chart, nine degrees fiftie five minutes and three fifth parts, and by Mercators projection, ten degrees and one and fiftie minutes. From this place we might discerne the Portugall men of Warre set out from Lisbone; whose Fleet consisted of two Portugall Gallions one bigger then the London; and two Flemmish ships, one as bigge as the Hart; the other lesse then the Eagle: Their Generall Ruy Frere de Andrado, John Boralio Vice-admirall, the Flemmings were commanded by Antonio Musquet and Baltazar de Chaves.

The sixteenth in the morning, our Admirall with the Masters of his Fleet went aboard the Prize, and carried two Barrells of powder, some Tarre, and other combustible provisions, intending with her to lay the Portugall Admirall thwart the halse to burne together. Thus fitted, we bore up with the men of Warre, but it fell calme, and the Current set us so neere them that they reached us with their Ordnance. All night we kept under saile. And in the seventeenth, being by reason of the Landturne to leeward of them; they weighed and made towards our Fleet, which attended their comming, albeit they had and carefully kept the benefit of the wind. About nine *The fight.* the fight began, which continued nine houres without intermission. In the afternoone (a fine gentle Westerly Sea-wind blowing, and we to windward of them) their Admirall, whether of necessitie to repaire some defect about his Rudder, or of policy for some conceited stratagem, anchored; and to the Eastward of him, his Vice-Admirall and the greater Flemming, the lesser to leeward of all stopping his leakes. Now were wee in great hope of our fire designe, which yet being too soone fired and

forsaken of those which had it in charge, prooved frustrate, driving cleere of all their ships to their rejoycing, our disgrace and our Imployers losse. We seeing them abide at anchor, and keeping the wind of them, turning to and againe close ahead of them raked them, especially their Admirall, thorow and thorow, fore and after, with all our broad sides, receiving from them only their Praw and Bow Peeces. Out of whom as I passed to the North, two unfortunate shots cut a-sunder the Robuckes weather-leech ropes of her foresaile and fore top-saile in the middle depth of both sailes, which renting we could not make her stay, but were inforced for reparation of our sailes to beare up to leeward betwixt them & the shoare. In which time their three greatest ships played upon us with their whole broad sides, yet, God be praysed, with lesse hurt then I could have imagined. Thus having compassed the three last mentioned ships, and luffing to re-joyne with our owne Fleet (which all this while holding the benefit of the wind played upon the Portugals with their great Ordnance, as fast as with so many Muskets) I had gotten to wind-ward of the smaller Flemming: who standing off as I did, untill he had brought the fired ship directly betweene him and me, then turned taile and steered with all the sailes he could make right afore the wind, alongst the shoare to the Eastward: whom to rescue, the other three set saile, now so gentle, that the Hart passing along their broad sides received from some of them few, from others none, either great or small shot. But our Fleet at present reunited, desisted their further chase, the darknesse of the night, and the generall wearinesse, challenging a surcease from so toylsome a worke: and anchored after midnight in their (before) usuall Road.

In this fight the London and Hart received very little hurt in their huls and tackling; lesse or none amongst their men. The Eagles mayne Mast was shot in five places, whereof foure quite thorow: and one John Banckes lost his right arme. I in the Robucke, had one Edward

Browne slaine with a great shot thorow his head; a piece of whose skull together with some splinters of the same shot, wounded Master Thomas Waller one of my Mates in the fore-head to the losse of his left eye: also John Phenix and Robert Hopworth lost the use of their right hands. Never (God be praysed) did I heare of so little hurt in so long a fight, as we had on our parts. I cannot truly particularise their hurts, by report of our Merchants, John Boralio their Vice-Admirall and another Captaine were slaine; with thirtie or forty Portugals out of their Admirall (for Moores they account not in the number of their men) the rest unknowne.

The eighteenth in the morning, wee had sight of the Portugals at anchor ten miles to the East of us: they had the wind faire to come to us, but did not. Whereupon we had a generall conference, whether it might be fitter with the first of the Sea-turne (beginning usually about noon) to stand with them and try it out for the Mastery (before they could have supply from Ormus or Muskat, or expected ayde from Goa) or else to make saile for [I. v. 726.] Jasques Road, there to land our monies and goods (for surprisall whereof they fought and we defended) and this later was concluded. Thither the London attayned that night: the rest rode a league without.

Portugall supplyes. The two and twentieth, descrying the Port. Galliones open of the Road, to come in as wee supposed with the Sea turne, we hasted and stood off with them. They steered directly towards Ormus, till they met with two or three Frigats from thence with supply of men and munition, which having shipped, they made towards us but soone repented, and clapt upon a tacke, and till the eight and twentieth, were either to windward, or so at anchor that without disadvantage wee could not attempt them. Wee tryed on Christmasse day, but were inforced backe with a present encounter of a gust, which made some Blackes aboord us, say, that the Port. had brought a Witch from Ormus to serve them with faire winds. On Innocents day perceiving the drift of our Fabius Cunctator, we took

the oportunitie of an Easterly gale, weighed and put things in order for fight. The London and Hart next anchored within a Cables length and halfe from them upon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest burthen of this second dayes fight. For no sooner were they at anchor, but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the Robucke and Eagle (who had steered neerer the shoare with intent to anchor, one upon the Bow of the Port-Admirall, the other on the Bow of their Vice-Admirall) beeing Easterne, could not with any diligence come to doe any service in halfe an houres space. And no sooner were wee within the levell range of our Ordnance from them, then (there beeing not a breath of wind, and the current against us) we were driven to anchor or drive further off. But our broad sides once brought up, the great Ordnance from our whole Fleet playd so fast upon them, that had our mens knowledge equalled their resolutions, not one of them had escaped us. How ever, loth to receive a Supper as hot as their Dinner, at three a clocke they cut their Cables and drove with the tyde (then setting Westerly) untill they were out of our reach. Then came their Frigats to them (which the day before had domineered with their Musicke, pendants and flagges alongst the shoare, now with a fitter taske) to tow them away all mangled and torne. For their Admirall in the greatest fury of the fight, was inforced to heeld his ship to stop his leakes, his mayne-top-mast over-boord, and the head of his mayne Mast. The greater Flemming had both his top-masts and part of his bow-sprit shot away: the lesse having never a shrowd standing, never a top-mast.

The second fight.

The flight and losse of the Portugals.

The Vice-Admirall (which both dayes did us most hurt) escaped best, having commonly this day one or other of their ships twixt him and us. We kept them company all night in hope the next morning to have given them their pas-ports, but surveying our shot and finding small store left (notwithstanding that by some happy mistake, the Eagle had a double proportion) and considering the

Voyage which we had to performe, we returned: and left them glad men, the two greater ships towing the two smaller at their sterne. Their slayne I heard not: Ours lost in the London slaine, Henry Crane, John Gore; our Admirall and Peter Robinson dyed of their wounds afterwards. In the Hart, Walter Davie, William Hall, John Muskat, and Edmund Okely were wounded but recovered. The great shot of severall sorts spent, in the London, one thousand three hundred eightie two. Hart, one thousand twentie foure. Robucke, eight hundred and fifteene. Eagle, eight hundred, in all foure thousand twentie one. Captaine Richard Blith according to the order (opening the white Boxe N 1.) succeeded our worthy Admirall: my selfe removed into the Hart, Christopher Browne to the Robucke, and Thomas Taylor was made Master of the Eagle.

The fourteenth of January, having had for eight and fortie houres precedent continuall extremitie of raine (wind or raine being usuall here for three or foure dayes at the change and full, otherwhiles faire weather) we set saile from Jasques, where we had dispatched our businesse, to Surat, where we arrived the first of February following: nothing in our passage occurring worth recitall, saving that the seven and twentieth of January, wee surprized betwixt Diu and the Sand heads, a small ship of warre called Nostra Seniora de Remedio, of burthen one hundred tunnes, Francisco de Sylva Captaine, with thirtie five Portugals, and twentie five Moores for Sailers set out by the Captaine of Diu to gard their small Merchants ships from the Malabars. The men were dismissed, and *A Port. Prise.* the shippe kept for our use, and called the Andrew. Shee had in her neyther meate, money, nor commodities, and scarse so many poore sutes as backes.

The seven and twentieth of February, we began to take in goods. The fift of March, the Eagle was sent downe to guard the Princes Juncke, and to hinder her further lading, till free leave and libertie should be granted for passage of Carts with goods, and other our provisions,

which have beene restrayned sixe or seven dayes by the grating Governour of Ulpare: by which meanes no Cotton Wooll could come downe till our ship was full laden forward on. The sixteenth, upon notice that the Agra Caffila was robbed by the Decan Armie, resolution was taken to seeke restitution upon the ships of the said Decan Prince and his Confederates in the action; and the Red Sea intended for our ships wintering. The nineteenth, the Prince his Juncke was dismissed, the Governour of Surat having granted under his hand to supply our wants of Powder and shot for our money, with redresse for many other discourtesies.

Since the five and twentieth of March, till the sixt of Aprill, 1621. the windes have beene outwardly, viz. South and South South-west and West, and from noone till mid-night blowne so hard that the great stuffe by the shoare permitted no businesse to bee done, except on the last quarter ebbe and first after floud. The seventh, we set sayle. The ninth, the Eagle and Dutch Pinnasse called the good Fortune, departed our Company, consigned for Achen and Bantam: the London, Hart, Robucke and Andrew intended for the Red Sea, if not too late. [I. v. 727.]

A Prise.

The first of May, the Andrew and our Boats surprized the Saint Antonio a-ship of two hundred tunnes, which we called the May-flower: her principall lading Rice taken in at Barcelor, whence she went to Goa, and the eight of Aprill, had set saile for Muscat and Ormus. By these we understood that Ruy Frere de Andrado, was busie in repayring his foure ships at Ormus: C. that Don Emanuell de Asseredo, is departed about fiftie dayes past from Goa in his succour with two Galliones; one whereof is the same in which the Vice-Roy was personally, when hee fought with Captaine Downtons Fleet. The seventh, in a calme we surprized the Jacinth a small ship built of a Frigat, from Mozambique bound for Goa: wee called her the Prim-rose. Thence to the thirteenth, winds variable, calmes, raines. The May-flowre hindred us much: and

Eman. Assavedo sent in supply from Goa.

the Pilots either were malicious or blind: whereupon we resolved to trust to our owne endeavours to find an anchoring place, whence we might discover some convenient Road for our safe riding till the strength of the Monson were past, we resolved for Macera.

Macera.

The second of June, we descryed Land and anchored in seventeene fathomes three miles off shoare: here we found in foure or five Pits, three quarters of a mile from the waters side, water in abundance. I had fortie tunne out of one Well, which we rolled downe in Hogsheads: the people tractable, little other refreshing. The latitude twentie degrees twentie minutes, variation seventeene North-westing. The Date Trees by the watering place bare North-west by West, the other end of the Iland North-east halfe East five leagues off.

The twelfth wee set saile for the North-east end of Macera, and in the afternoone anchored in seven fathomes in a faire Bay, cleane ground, a fast blacke ozie sand, the North-east point bearing South halfe a league off: the landing place West South-west two miles off: the Norther part of the Bay North by West foure miles off. The latitude twentie degrees thirtie minutes, variation seventeene North-west. You may ride in this Bay from five to twelve, in what depth you will: an excellent, hungry, cold and healthfull place: but a tumbling, rolling Sea for ships: fresh water enough to be had in Pits digged, but except at the usuall landing place, very ill to boate: yeelding no better refreshing then the first, a few Goats and Lambes in trucke for Cannekeens.

Whiles the Hart and Robucke were here resolved to stay till the Monsons fury were past; on the nineteenth, we sent Abdelavie an inhabitant of Macera, with Letters in quest for the Admirall as farre as Soar, which returned the sixt of July, with Letters of their being there at Soar, seven leagues within Cape Rosalgate; their difficult watering at Teue, surprisall of Simons the Chirurgion, and the Preachers Boy on Land by the Portugals and Moores, &c.

Cape Rosalgate, or Rosahalt (so the Natives call it).

The sixt of August, the Hart and Robucke set saile from Macera: the eight in the evening we anchored by our Admirall: this Road differing from Macera, in beeing calme, usually cleere, and by heat taking away the stomacke. The fifteenth set saile. The first of September a Boate of Chaul came aboord the Robucke, &c.

The one and twentieth of November, our Fleet set saile from Swally, and anchored before the Barre of Surat. The seven and twentieth at noone, in latitude twentie, and by judgement twentie eight leagues from neerest Land: we tooke leave of the Jasques Fleet, consisting of the London, Jonas, Whale, Dolphine, Lion, Rose, Shilling, Richard and Robert. *The Jasques Fleet of nine ships.*

The first of January we found our selves betweene Johanna and Mayotta. The nine and twentieth we anchored in Soldania Road: having beene from Surat hither nine weekes and three dayes, blessed be God for our safe and speedie passage. Heere wee watered, washed, fished in the River, buried our Letters, bought three Cowes, one Calfe, foure sheepe, all unsavourie meate.

The third of February, we set saile: the nineteenth, anchored at Saint Helena. Heere wee found the Wappen and the Holland Dutch ships: this last fell on fire the two and twentieth, with her Cloves taken in greene at Amboyna. There was another small Dutch ship. They arrived eleven dayes before us, and cannot in ten dayes more discharge and relade their damnified Cloves. The eight and twentieth, we set sayle from Saint Helena: and the seventh of June, 1622. anchored in the Downes.

For further satisfaction touching the fight, I have added this Letter or Relation sent to the Company from the Chiefe of the Fleet.

[Relation of

[I. v. 728.] Relation of the fight of foure English ships with foure Portugall ships, two Galliats, and ten Frigats in the Gulfe of Persia, in the Monethes of December and January, 1620.

THe London and the Robucke arriving at Surat the ninth of December, there understood that the Portugals had sent into the gulfe of Persia an Armado, purposely to attempt the English shipping at their comming thither, whereupon it was forth-with resolved by the English Factors at Surat, & the Commanders of the above-named two ships, that they should apply themselves to the gulfe of Persia, to re-joyne themselves with two other English ships, namely, the Hart and the Eagle which parted from the London and Robucke, before their comming to Surat, and were gone directly toward Jasques in the said gulfe of Persia, and so the said London and Robucke set sayle from Surat towards Jasques, the nineteenth day of November, and the first day of December following, they met with the Hart and the Eagle, about eightie leagues short of Jasques, where all the foure ships joyning together, they received most certaine intelligence by a Portugall Frigat which they met, that the Portugall Armado consisting as aforesaid of foure Gallions, two Galliats and about tenne Frigats, were attending them at the Easter end of Jasques Road, where the English ships must come, and so went along towards the same, where the sixteenth day they found the said Portugall Armado, consisting in these particulars before named the Generall or chiefe Commander whereof is named Ruy Frere de Andrado, whom themselves call the Pride of Portugall, the Vice-Admirall John Boralio, and Inhabitant of Ormus, and late Admirall of those Seas, of the other two ships the Commanders were Anthonio Musquet and Balthazar di Chaves, this day prooved calme, so that it was night ere they came in shot one of another.

The seventeenth of December, being the Lords day,

wee intended to have sanctified his service being under saile a league to Sea-boord of them, but about eight of the clocke with the Land turne, they weighed anchor and bore up with us, for whom (albeit they had the winde) we shortned saile and stayed neere about nine of the clocke, we joyned fight with them, which continued until the darknesse of the night justly challenged an end to so long and weary a work, they (like a kind Host to Strangers) leaving us their anchoring place to lodge in, and retyred some ten or eleven miles to the Eastward, there to amend and repaire themselves; wee cannot truely particulate unto you their hurts and losses in this fight, save by reports of our Merchants, that John Boralio their Vice-admirall, and the Captaine of one of the other ships, were slaine, with some thirtie or fortie men out of their Admirall, the rest yet unknowne. The losse or hurt of our men in your own ships, the inclosed Note of this seventeenth present, will make manifest. Thus for a time we were not disturbed by our enemies, though by contrary winds we could not get into the usuall Road before the twentieth current. The twentie one and twentie two, the most part of your goods was landed, and descrying the Portugall Gallions open of the Road, to come in, as we supposed, with the Sea-turne, we therefore set saile and stood off with them, but after some small shew of bearing up with the Sea-wind, they clapt upon a Lake, and were so fortunate untill the eight and twentieth day, that either they being to windward we could not come at them, or else at anchor wee could not, without our great disadvantage, meddle with them.

The eight and twentieth, being Innocents day, both Fleets riding at the Easter Points of the Road, not a mile distant one from the other; we omitted no opportunitie to give battell to our wary protracting enemies, who, as by his working appeared, if hee could have avoyded fight, and by lingring delayes, and the benefit of his Frigats, have hindred us from the prosecution of your

Persian designments, he attayned unto the full heighth and scope of his imployments.

But about one of the clocke, the Lord sent us a pretty gale, our Fleet weighed and put all things in order for to fight, the London and Hart next anchored within a Cables length from them upon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest brunt of this two dayes fight, for no sooner were they at anchor but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the Roe Bucke and Eagle, who being somewhat a sterne and steering neerer the shoare, with intent to anchor one upon the Bowe of the Portugall Admirall, and the other upon the Bowe of the Vice-admirall, could not notwithstanding all diligence used, come to doe any service in halfe an houres space, but being come neere anchored, and all our ships so fitted to keepe our broad sides full upon them. The great Ordnance out of our whole Fleet played so fast upon them, that about three of the clocke in the afternoone, not willing to indure so hot entertainment, they cut their Cables and with the Tyde drove downe from us, untill being without reach of our Ordnance, their Frigats came and towed them away wonderfully mangled and torne, for their Admirall in the hottest of the fight was inforced to heeld their ship to stop his leakes, his mayne top-mast over board, and the head of his mayne mast; the third ship both his top-mast, mizon mast, and part of his bow sprit were shot away, the lesser ship had never a shroud left standing, nor never a top-mast; the Vice-admirall escaped best, for most commonly hee had one or other
[I. v. 729.] of their ships betweene him and us. All this night we kept them companie, with hope the next morning to have given them all, or some of them, their Passe-port, but surveying our shot and finding no great store left, and withall considering the great weight and import of the voyage we had to performe, we resolved our returne to Jasques, for the speedy dispatching of our businesse in hand, thanking God for putting our enemies to flight before us, of whom unto the present writing hereof we

have heard no newes, neither are any of them arrived at Ormus or Muscat, as our Merchants report, only it is rumored by some Caffaires, who by swimming escaped ashoare, that Ruy Frere de Andrado * was slaine. All your ships, praysed bee God, ramayne serviceable, and not above five men slaine on our part in these two long and great battailes, and not many wounded, as by the List of their names here inclosed will appeare. Amongst whom our worthy Admirall and kind Commander, received a great and grievous wound through his left shoulder with a great shot, which hurt hee with such courage and patience under-went, that gave great hope to us all of his much wished recoverie, but having besides his former wound two of his uppermost ribs on the left side broken; the sixt of Januarie, he departed this life, shewing himselfe (as ever before) a resolute Commander, so in his passage through the Gates of death, a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian, his body we intended to have carried to Surat, and there according to his deserts to have performed his last funerall rights, the Chyrurgians confidently promising by imbalming and waxe-cloth to preserve him without annoyance thither, but notwithstanding this cost and their promise, his body, in regard of his great wound, proving noysome, we were enforced to bury him at Jasques, which was effected the seventh Current, with what respect, solemnitie, and decency the time required.

*This proved not true.

The thirteenth of January, 1620. aboard the Ship London in Jasques Road.

Under-written by all the foure Masters of the foure Ships,

RI. BLYTH. ROB. SWAN.
CHR. BROWNE. WILL BAFFIN.

WHiles we are publishing these things there are late newes of English Persian occurrents, as namely, that nine English ships have beene in those Persian Seas,

and together with the Persian have paid part of their Portugall debt: Chisman in three dayes being taken, the spoile divided betwixt them. Also the Bassa of Xeras helped by the English both in setting over his men, and in beleagring the Towne, hath in two dayes taken the Towne of Ormus, the Castle holding out; though little hope remayned of it, their water and all hope of helpe being taken from them. The English have won much honour and reputation of valour: and if they take it, (besides sharing the spoile) are to have the Castle committed to their keeping. They are said also to have taken a rich ship, called the Mosambique.

Part of a Letter written from Mr. Robert Smith to his brother Henrie Smith, relating of a rare attempt and exploit of a small English Pinnasse, in taking a Portugall ship.

IN our passage from Joanna to this place, we lost sight of the Rose and Richard, but within sixe dayes after, the Richard came to us with a Portugall prize at her sterne, which shee had taken that night we lost her company. It is a wonder to tell it. The Richard being a Pinnasse of about twentie Tunnes, manned with fourteene Men and Boyes, and having but two small Falconets in her, and the Portugall of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, with two hundred and fiftie in her, whereof seventie were Portugalls, the rest Mesticos and Slaves: the Richard comming up with them plyed her demi-Dogs so well, that in the shooting off twentie shot, it pleased God they killed their Captayne, which the rest perceiving stroke all their sailes amayne, and like tall men came aboard the Richard, sixe at a time, where the Master caused them to be bound: but fearing to have too many aboard, though bound, he sent a terrible command to the rest aboard; that upon their lives they should depart their ship into their great Boat, which they very valiantly performed, and left their ship to the utter disgrace of themselves and all their Nation, &c.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF PERSIA

Giles Hobbs his travaile from Musco to Spahan, written in a Letter by himselfe to the East Indian Companie.

Right Honorable, my dutie remembred, &c.

THe fourth of October last past, a yeere since my arrivall at Spahan, your then Agent Master Thomas Barker was then advising for England, mentioning of my arrivall, and also of his appointment to resend me so soone as he heard of the safe arrivall of your shippes, but it pleased the Lord in the meane-time to take him from us by a sudden death. Whose appointment was the first cause I omitted to write to your Honors; the second, a long & tedious journey by lets on the Volga, and also in this Land. The third cause, my Convoy taken from me, and not suffered to passe but with the Kings Caravan of Boats, for that the report was, the Cossackes did purpose to make fight with the Caravan, which proved the contrary. It would be too long to trouble your patience to relate at large the accidents in this my journey, wherein little happened worthy your notice or expectation, or my hopes to effect your desires. I will therefore briefly make relation thereof. *Tho. Barker.* [I. v. 730.]

The eighth of May, 1619. I set off from Yeraslave, and arrived at Astracan the sixteenth of June, from whence I purposed to take my journey and passage for Turkie, and from thence by the Emperours Post to passe the Cherkasses Countrey, and so for Spahan by Land. This passage I could not proceed of, but with the Emperours Caravan of provisions which would not bee in twelve dayes: in the interim, I enquired when the Guilan Busses would goe. The Masters and Merchants promised fourteene dayes at furthest; so I resolved to passe in them.

The tenth of July, I set off from Astracan, and by occasion of the Boats stay, to be cleered by the Searchers, it was the fifteenth dicto, our comming aboord the Busse.

No Compasse used in the Caspian Sea. The eighteenth dicto, the Busse set sayle steering South till we made the Persian shoare, they use no Compasse but direct their course by the Sunne, Moone and Stars.

Tempest. The sixe and twentieth dicto, we made land, having great tempest of wind at North-east; the land lying South and West; at evening the wind came of the land still increasing: the next day the Busse lost her sayle from the yard, and for to succour her they hung up figge baskets, coverlets and Cow hides, throwing great store of the lading over-boord; the first all our provision, after the goods: this night we had small rest, the next morning the wind was out of the Sea, and it pleased the Lord to bring us in betweene a small Iland and the mayne land, and both us and the Vessell saved.

Callopsheray. The eight and twentieth, the Master and most of us went on land, the place called Callopsheray, no Inhabitants: the wind increased still, that untill the first of August, the Boate could not row aboord the Busse. This day the Merchants unladed ther goods, and the fift dicto, *Shomakee.* wee procured Horses for Shomakee, and arrived there the ninth dicto.

Bocka. *Guilan.* The Busse bound her selfe for a Port called Bocka, to lade Neft ere she proceeded for Guilan, the nineteenth of August, I departed with the Cafala from Shomakee, & *Ardevil.* arrived at Ardevill, the nine & twentieth of the same. The ninth of September, with the Cafala I departed *Spahan.* Ardevill, & arrived at Spahan, the fourth of October, 1619. thus in briefe you may please to understand of my long journey from Yeraslave to Spahan in Persia, no lesse then five monethes, which, no doubt, might be done in eleven or twelve weekes, if no lets in the way, as in these subsequents I shall declare.

Three passages to Persia from Musco. The first passage is at the opening the River Volga, from Yeraslave to Astracan, and so to Turkie by water, which may bee done in five and twentie dayes, and from Turkie by the Emperors Convoy to Derbent or Shomakee, Cities under this King, and from those Cities to Ardevill and Casbin with Cafala, and from Casbin as they please to

Spahan, the way cleere, and may bee effected, as above-said.

The second passage is to come off from Yeraslave the first of June untill the tenth dicto, and if no let may be at Astracan, in eighteene or twentie dayes, in good time to take the first passage in the Guilan Busses for Leygoints, a league from Laigon, and from Resht, from whence this yeares Silke was taken seven leagues, and from thence to Spahan, sixteene dayes journey. This may prove the speedier passage, if it please God to lend favourable wind to passe the Caspian Sea; from Astracan Sea passage is to be had in July, August and September.

The third passage, which no doubt, may bee procured by your Honours Agent there, is to have your Letters sent from Musco, by the Emperours Post to the Governour of Astracan, to send the said Letters, if over land, to the Chan of Shomakee, to be sent to the English Nation at Spahan, by the Chans Post, if by Sea to Guilan to the Governour of Resht, accordingly to bee sent to the English at Spahan: the charge to bee defrayed by your Honours Agents, and, no doubt, so long as you have here Trade, your Letters by these Governours will bee safely delivered: and for the better safetie of them, the Agent may at his next going to the King, procure two Firmans to those Governours to that effect: and thus much for the needfull transport of your Letters from Musco to Spahan in Persia.

I will now returne and speake something of the Trade at Astracan: the Mart beginneth at the arrivall of the Boats which is in June; at which time the Persians come in, and bring dyed Silke, Dorogoes, Callicoes, and other Persian stuffes, which they sell by retayle and in barter. The Commodities they returne are cloth, (but no great quantitie) Sables, Martens, redde Hides, Caviare, Butter, the hinder-part of Horse Skinnes, for Leather, and olde Russe Money which they buy at fortie foure and fortie sixe d per robles for exchange. These are the Commodities likewise the Russe transports whereon he makes small

profit the olde money failing, and your Honours Trade here will prejudice him much, if not quite overthrow his Trade.

[I. v. 731.] *Making of Caviare.* In my Passage on the Volga, I held nothing worthy notice except the taking the Sturgeon, and the making the Caviare and Isinglasse. The River they pale in from banke to banke, that no Sturgeon passe up or downe the River, but they fall in the weeres. The Roe they lay in salt fourteene or fifteene dayes, then take and wash the salt of them, and packe them in the Fat. The fat Sturgeon hath a yellow Roe, which they packe up as it commeth to hand, which Roe spoyleth all that lyeth neere it and much hindreth the sale of the Caviare at our Markets. *Isinglas.* The Isinglas is made of the string taken out of the Sturgeons backe. This yeare the But of Caviare sold at five robles the hundred, and sixe robles.

Arash. Derbent. Gentlemen, I am bound by Commission to advize how many dayes from Arash to the Caspian Sea and to Astracan. From Arash to Derbent a Port Towne seven dayes journey. This Port lyeth opposite to the River Volga, and may be sayled in five dayes. All other places where *Resht. Peomin. Shoft. Leygon. Monzendroan.* the Kings Silke is made, lye neere the Sea, as Resht, Peomin, Shoft and Leygon, in the Province of Guilan, the farthest eight leagues from the Ports. In Monzendroan, is the Plantation for the making of Silke, and this yeare a good quantitie made, of which as yet hath never proofe beene made for his goodnesse. Thus much for nerenesse of the places where the Silke is made to the Caspian Sea, by which your Honours may perceive how necessary the Silke doth lye for its transport by the way of the Volga, if passage might be procured from the Emperours of Muscovia; whereas now they are carryed three moneths journey by land to the Port, and not without great charges and trouble, as by the generall advice you will well understand; to which I humbly referre you.

Gentlemen, this your Persian Trade, as it is in her infancy hath many Enemies, the Turke, Arabian, Armenian, and the proud Portugall, whose lying tongue

ceaseth not to dishonour our Kingdome and Nation, but the Lord, I hope, will turne the dishonour upon his owne pate.

The overthrow of the three first Enemies must be by the presence of an Ambassadour heere, who, no doubt, would perswade and pull downe the Kings now loftie price of his Silke as you will well find in this yeares Silke received, and no abatement to bee expected, but by treatie of an Ambassadour, who hath beene expected and demanded for by this King: also to accord an agreement with the King for the Silke that is most in esteeme, and profitable for you: and as he is turned Merchant for sale of his Silke, so likewise to be your Merchant for the goods you shall yearely send into his Land, at such prices as may countervaile the price he sets on his Silke. But I doubt, you will say I passe the bounds of my Commission or order in writing this briefe Relation, of which might be spoken at large. But doubtlesse, not more then your grave wisdomes doe foresee, or the better experienced then my selfe doe advise, to which I humbly referre your Honours, praying the successe may prove to your hearts desires.

Gentlemen, I am sorry, you thinke me not worthy to nominate me your servant in your Letters, and more sorry you write me severall names and not mine owne name, for which cause I have beene a daily table sport by some, which of these names they may take for your Honours Servant, others wish me to returne and make my wages with you: and had I good occasion in your Honours employment I should bee very willing thereunto; but howsoever I referre mee to God and your Honours, not doubting, but you will deale as well with mee as others, and that I may not returne as promised I willingly remayne your Honours oblieged servant readie to undergoe any your Affaires, desiring your Honours will please to nominate mee a certaine yeerely stipend for the time I shall so spend untill my returne to your Honours, for which I shall bee bound to pray for your Honours helpe

and happinesse in this World, and in the World to come eternall rest.

Jasques. Your Honours may please that yesterday we received a Letter from the Agent from Port Jasques. A second Letter directed to Master William Bell and the rest at Spahan, advizing the truth as neere as they can be informed, the occasion of your Honours ships not arrivall as yet; to which I humbly referre you. Being ordered also by the Agent that the Copie thereof should be dispeeded to your Honours, I have fitted those former lines, long by you expected, of a briefe Relation of my Journey from Yeraslave to Spahan in Persia, also the fittest time for transport of your Letters to have speediest passage.

Since my arrivall here at Mina with the last Cafila of Silke, nothing hath happened worthy your Honours notice. We expect hourely to heare the happy newes of the safe arrivall of the ships at Port Jasques, that wee may proceed thither with your goods, which God of his mercie grant, to whose blessed tuition I ever commend your Honours; and rest,

Mina, the thirteenth of December, 1620.

Your Honours obliged Servant,

GILES HOBS.

[I. v. 732.]

Chap. XVII.

A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies; Answering to divers Objections which are usually made against the same.

Written by T. Mun.

THE trade of Merchandise, is not onely that laudable practise whereby the entercourse of Nations is so worthily performed, but also (as I may terme it) the very Touchstone of a kingdomes prosperitie, when therein some certaine rules shall be diligently observed. For, as in the estates of private persons, we may account that man to prosper and grow rich, who

being possessed of revenues more or lesse, doth accordingly proportion his expences; whereby he may yeerely advance some maintenance for his posteritie. So doth it come to passe in those kingdoms, which with great care and warinesse do ever vent out more of their home commodities, then they import and use of forraine wares; for so undoubtedly the remainder must returne to them in treasure. But where a contrary course is taken, through wantonnesse and riot; to overwaste both forraine and domesticke wares; there must the money of necessity be exported, as the meanes to helpe to furnish such excesse, and so by the corruption of mens conditions and manners, many rich countreyes are made exceeding poore, whilst the people thereof, too much affecting their owne inormities, doe lay the fault in something else.

Wherefore, industry to encrease, and frugalitie to maintaine, are the true watchmen of a kingdomes treasury; even when the force and feare of Princes prohibitions cannot possibly retaine the same.

And therefore, as it is most plaine, that proportion or quantitie, must ever be regarded in the importing of forraine wares; so must there also be a great respect of qualitie and use; that so, the things most necessary to be [I. v. 733.] first preferred; such as are foode, rayment, and munition for war and trade; which great blessings, when any Countrey doth sufficiently enjoy; the next to be procured are wares, fitting for health, and arts; the last, are those, which serve for our pleasures and ornament.

Now, forasmuch as by the providence of Almightie God, the kingdome of England, is endowed with such abundance of rich commodities, that it hath long enjoyed, not onely great plenty of the things before named, but also, through a superfluitie, hath beene much inriched with treasure brought in from forraine parts; which hath given life unto so many worthy trades, amongst which that unto the East India by name; the report whereof, although it is already spread so famous through

the world: yet notwithstanding, here at home, the clamorous complaints against the same, are growne so loud and generall; that (my selfe being one of the Society,) it hath much troubled my private meditations, to conceive the meanes or true grounds of this confusion. But at the last I resolved my selfe, that the greatest number of these exclaimers are led away in ignorance; not having as yet discerned the mysteries of such weighty affaires: Some have beene transported with envy, as not participating in the said Society, or being thereby hindred (as they conceive) in some other trade; and others, wholy corrupted in their affections, who whilst they willingly runne into these errors, doe also labour diligently to seduce others; that so, this good and glory of the kingdome, might be subverted by our selves, which by the policie and strength of Strangers, cannot so easily be abated; wherefore, it is now a fit time to meete with such injurious courses, by a true Narration of the passages in the said East India Trade; answering to those severall objections, which are so commonly made against the same: That so these misunderstandings and errors, may be made knowne unto the whole body of this Kingdome, which at this present time is most worthily represented to those noble assemblies of the high Courts of Parliament; where I hope the worth of this rich Trade, shall bee effectually inquired, and so in the end obtaine the credite of an honorable approbation.

The first Objection.

It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the Navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had never been found out; For in the fleets of shippes, which are sent thither yeerely out of England, Portugall, and the Low-countreyes; The Gold, Silver, and Coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this Kingdome, is exhausted, to buy unnecessary wares.

The Answere.

THe matter of this Objection is very weighty, and therefore it ought to be answered fully; the which that I may the better performe, I will divide the same into three parts. In the first, I will consider the necessary use of the wares, which are usually brought out of East India into Europe; namely, Drugges, Spices, Raw-silke, Indico, and Callicoes. In the second, I will imitate the manner and meanes by which the said wares have beene heretofore, and now are brought into Europe. In the third and last, I will proove, that the treasure of England is not consumed, but rather greatly to be increased, by the performance of the said Trade. 1. 2. 3.

The first part concerneth the use of Indian wares.

Touching the first, Who is so ignorant in any famous commonwealth, which will not consent to the moderate use of wholesome Drugges and comfortable Spices? Which have been so much desired in all times, and by so many Nations, not thereby to surfeit, or to please a lickorish taste (as it often happeneth, with many other fruites and wines) but rather as things most necessary to preserve their health, and to cure their diseases; even as it is most notably set foorth by some learned men, who have undertaken to write upon this subject: and therefore it shall be altogether needlesse heere to discourse upon their severall operations and vertues, seeing that he that listeth, may be well instructed therein; if hee will peruse the Volumes which are penned by the learned, for the benefit of all those who shall make use thereof.

Sir Thomas Eliot his Castle of health. B. embert Dodoneus his history of Plants. The French Academie second part, and others.

But if peradventure it be yet further urged, that divers Nations live without the use of Druggs and Spices: the answere is, That either such people know not their vertue, and therefore suffer much by the want of wares so healthfull, or else they are most miserable, being without meanes to obtaine the things which they so much want: but sithence I intend to be briefe, I will insist no further upon this point: For the Objecters might aswell denie us the use of Sugers, Wines, Oyles, Raysons, Figges, Prunes,

and Currands; and with farre more reason exclaime against Tobacco, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Lawnes, Cambricks, Gold and Silver-lace, Velvets, Sattens, Taffataes, and divers other manufactures, yeerely brought into this Realme for an infinite value: all which as it is most true, that whilest we consume them, they likewise devoure our wealth; yet nevertheles, the moderate use of all these wares hath ever suted well with the riches and Majestie of this Kingdome.

[I. v. 734.] *France and the Low-Countreyes of late yeares do make great quantities of wrought silke, of which wares they were heretofore served from Italy. France, Italy, South Barbery, and other Countreyes.*

But I will come to the raw Silkes and Indico, this being so excellent for the dying of our woollen clothes, thereby so much esteemed in so many places of the world; that ornament, together with the great reliefe and maintenance of so many hundreds of poore people, who are continually imployed, in the winding, twisting, and weaving of the same: Insomuch, that by the cherishing of this businesse (as his Majestie for his part is graciously pleased to performe, in remitting the impost of Silke) it may well be hoped, that in short time, industrie will make the Art to flourish with no lesse happinesse to this Kingdome, then it hath done (through many ages) to divers states in Italy, and lately also to the Kingdome of France, and to the united Provinces of the Low-countreyes.

Now as touching the Trade of Callicoes, of many sorts, into which the English lately made an entrance, although it cannot be truely said, that this commoditie is profitable, for the state of Christendome in generall (in respect they are the manufacture of Infidels, and in great part the weare of Christians) yet neverthelesse, this commoditie likewise is of singular use, for this common-wealth in particular; not onely therewith to increase the trade into forraine parts, but also thereby greatly to abate the excessive prices of Cambrickes, Holland, and other sorts of Linnen cloth, which daily are brought into this Kingdome for a very great summe of money. And this shall suffice concerning the necessary use of the Indian wares: In the next place, I will set forth the manner and meanes of their importing into Europe.

The second part Sheweth the manner & the meanes by which Indian wares have beene & now are brought into Europe.

It is an errour in those men; who thinke that the trade of the East Indies into Europe had first entrance, by the discoverie of the Navigation by the Cape of Good Hope. For many yeeres before that time, the trafficke of those parts had his ordinary course by shipping from divers places in the Indies, yeerely resorting with their wares to Mocha in the Red-Sea, and Balsera in the Persian Gulfe; From both which places, the Merchandise (with great charges) were after transported over-land by the Turkes upon Cammels, fiftie dayes journey, unto Aleppo in Soria, and to Alexandria in Egypt, (which are in the Mart Townes, from whence divers Nations, as well Turkes as Christians doe continually disperse the said Wares by Sea into the parts of Europe:) by which course, the common enemie of Christendome (the Turke) was Master of the Trade, which did greatly imploy, and inrich his Subjects, and also fill the Coffers of his owne Customes, which he exacted at very high rates; But by the providence of Almightie God, the discoverie of that Navigation to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now so much frequented by the English, Portugals, and Dutch; and also attempted by other Christian Kingdomes) hath not onely much decayed the great Commerce betweene the Indians and the Turkes in the Red Sea; and in the Persian Gulfe (to their infinite hurt, and to the great increase of Christian Trade,) but it hath also brought a further happinesse unto Christendome in generall, and to the Realme of England in particular, for the venting of more English Commodities; and for exporting of a lesse quantitie of Silver out of Europe unto the Infidels, by many thousand pounds yearely, then hath beene accustomed in former times; as I shall proove most plainely by that which followeth.

Rates upon all sorts of Spices. 22. per cent. raw Silkes esteemed about 2. per cent. Indico about 8. per cent.

And first, it will be necessarie to set downe the quantitie of Spices, Indico, and Persian raw Silke (which is yeerely consumed in Europe) and in them all to consider the cost with the charges to lade the same Commodities cleere aboord the ships from Aleppo; and the like of all

the selfe same wares, as they have beene usually dispatched from the Ports of the East Indies; wherein will appeare that happinesse, which many doe so much oppose; especially our owne Countrey-men, under the gilded termes of the Common-wealth; whilest being indeed either ignorant, or ill affected, they doe not onely grosly erre themselves, but also cause others to hinder as much as in them lyeth, the glorie and wel-fare of this Kingdome; but leaving them, I will set downe the said wares, in their quantitie and prices as followeth; and first,

Such people as effect not the good of this Kingdome.

At Aleppo,

The quantity of Spice, Indico, and Persian raw Silke, yeerely consumed in Europe.

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two shillings the pound, six hundred thousand pound. Foure hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Cloves, at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost one hundred sixe thousand eight hundreth seventie five pound tenne shillings. One hundreth and fiftie thousand pounds of Mace at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost there thirtie five thousand sixe hundred twentie sixe pound. Foure hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings foure pence the pound, cost fortie sixe thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. Three hundred fiftie thousand of Indico, at foure shillings foure pence the pound, cost seventie five thousand eight hundred thirtie three pound, sixe shillings eight pence. One thousand thousand of Persia raw Silke at twelve shillings the pound, come to sixe hundreth thousand pound. The whole summe of all is 1465001. pounds, ten shillings.

Now follow the same wares both for quantitie and qualitie at their severall prices, as they are to be bought and laden cleere of charges,

In the East Indies,

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two pence halfe pennie the pound, sixtie two thousand five hundred pound. Foure hundred fiftie

thousand pounds of Cloves at nine pence the pound, cost sixteene thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost five thousand pounds. Foure hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure pence the pound, cost sixe thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. Three hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost twentie thousand foure hundred and sixteene pounds twelve shillings foure pence. Ten hundred thousand pounds Persia raw Silke, at eight shillings the pound, cost foure hundred thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, 511458. pounds, 5. shillings, 8. pence. [I. v. 735.]

The exportation of the value of 953543. l. sterling out of Christendome into Turkey yeerely saved.

So that by the substance, and summes of these accounts it doth plainely appeare, that the buying of the said quantitie of raw Silkes, Indico, and Spices, may be performed in the Indies, for neere one third part of the readie moneys, which were accustomed to be sent into Turkey to provide the same: So that there will be saved every yeere the value of nine hundred fiftie three thousand five hundred fortie three pounds foure shillings foure pence sterling, of readie moneys, that heretofore hath beene exported out of Christendome into Turkey: which is a matter of such note and consequence, that it may seeme incredible, before the circumstance be duely considered; and therefore lest I should leave the matter in doubt, it is requisite, that I doe make an explanation of some particulars.

And principally, it must not be conceived, that this great advantage which hath beene spoken of, is onely the Merchants gayne; for the Common-wealth of Christendome, hath a very great part thereof in the cheapnesse of the Wares, as shall be (God willing) proved hereafter in his due place.

Secondly, the time of the Merchants forbearance and interest is very long; his adventure and assurance much dearer; his charges of Shipping, Victuals, Mariners, and Factors their wages, farre greater then by the voyage into

Turkey for the same Wares: so that the former great difference must be understood in these particulars: whereby we may perceive to our comfort, that the materials of the Kingdome, and the employments of the Subjects (in lieu of readie moneys) becomes a very great part of the price which is payed for the said Indian Wares: which cannot hurt the State (as some erroniously suppose) but greatly helpe it, as I shall better prove in that which followeth.

Instance only, that ten shillings imployed in Pepper in the East Indies, will require thirtie and five shillings for all charges whatsoever to deliver it in London.

First therefore, I shew for an undoubted truth, That the Persians, Moores, and Indians, who trade with the Turkes at Aleppo, Mocha, and Alexandria, for raw Silkes, Drugs, Spices, Indico, and Callicoes; have alwayes made, and still doe make their returnes in readie money: for other Wares, there are but few which they desire from forraine parts; some Chamlets, Corrall, wrought Silke, woollen Cloth, with some trifles, they doe yeerly vent in all, not for above fortie or fiftie thousand pounds sterling; which is no valuable summe in respect of that wealth which is carried from Aleppo and Constantinople into Persia for raw Silkes; when least, five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum: and from Mocha about sixe hundred thousand pounds sterling (likewise yeerely into India) for returne of Callicoes, Drugs, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco, and divers other things. So here is stil a very great commerce maintayned betweene those Infidels; not onely for the Callicoes of many sorts, and other Wares (which concerne their owne use) but also for the raw Silkes of Persia, which are altogether transported into Christendome.

The great summes of money which the Persians and the Indians carrie yeerely out of Turkey.

The East India Companie doe endeavour to bring the raw Silkes from Persia directly by Sea.

How worthie an enterprise is it therefore in the English East India Companie? by whose endeavours there is now good hope to turn a great part of this wealthie Trade into England, by shipping directly from the Persian Gulfe, whereby the employments, trafficke, and Customes of the Turkes, may be still more and more

Marcellis sendeth yeerely to Aleppo and Alexandria, at least 500000 l. sterling, and little or no wares. Venice sends about the value of 100000 l. and a great value in wares. The Low countries sends about the value of 50000 l. sterling monies, and litle wares. Messina 25000 l. in ready money.

impaired, and the generall Treasure of Christendome much lesse consumed; as is already performed for the businesse of Spices and Indico.

And who shall then doubt our want of Silver to maintaine the Trade? if by this way we doe obtaine the Silke, which with more advantage and conveniencie will draw the money to this Mart, then it hath beene heretofore conveyed unto those remote Dominions of the Turke.

And lest peradventure it should be thought, that the trafficke in those parts by the Christians for the Persian Silke, is performed by change for other Wares, or by the money which proceedeth of the sales of many rich Commodities, which yeerely they sell at Aleppo, Alexandria, Constantinople, and these parts. The answere is, that neither the Venetians, French, nor Dutch, doe vent so much of their owne Countrie Commodities in those parts, as doe provide their necessarie wants of the proper Wares of Turkes: such as are the fine raw Silke made in Soria, Chamlets, Grograns, Cotten Woolls, Cotten Yarne, Galls, Flax, Hempe, Fleece Woolls, Rice, Hides, Waxe, and divers other things; so that still the raw Silkes of Persia, must be bought with readie money. Onely the English have more advantage then any other Nation in this kind: for they vent so great a quantitie of Broad-clothes, Tinne, and other English Commodities, that the proceed thereof, doth not onely provide a sufficient quantitie of part of the said Turkish Wares (which fit their use) but also a proportion of about three hundred great Balls of Persia raw Silke yeerely.

And if in any yeere they chance to buy a greater quantitie of Silke, then must and doe they furnish the same in readie moneys from the Ports of Marcellis, Genovay, Ligorne, Venice, or the Netherlands. Neither are these [I. v. 736.] the onely meanes, whereby the Empire of the Turke is so abundantly stored with Gold and Silver, to the performance of the Indian Trade. For, many are the Christian ships which yeerely lade with Corne for readie moneys in the Archipelago: great is the commerce from Poland,

Hungarie, and Germanie, with Gold and Dollers, for Chamlets, Grograns, and other things: But that which is very remarkable, is the great quantitie of Gold, and some Silver coyned in Grand-Cairo, which by two severall Caravans (in bullion) is yeerly brought thither from the Abassens Countrey in Ethiopia, for returne of many rich Commodities, as Velvets, Sattins, Cloth of Gold, Taffatas, wollen Cloth, pollished Corrall, and other things.

Abassens a People in Ethiopia whose influence hath made them dull, lazy, and without arts; enjoying divers Mines of Gold, and one of Silver, which doe procure their wants of forraine Wares.

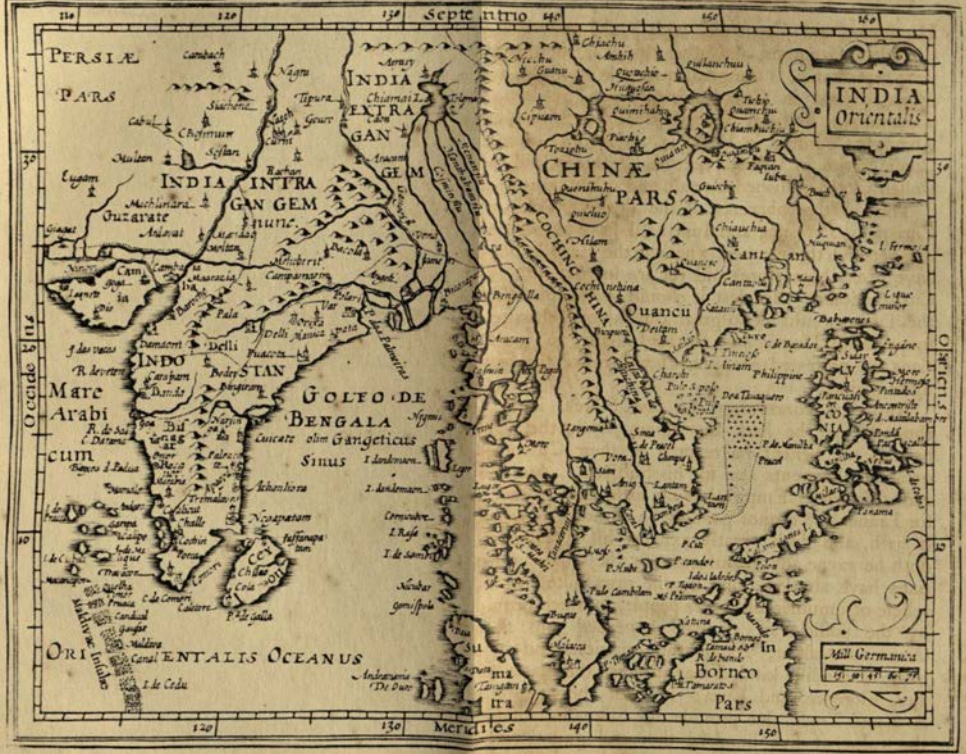
Thus by the coherence of the Turkish Trade with the Christians, Persians, and Indians, I have shewed both the manner and the meanes, whereby the East Indian Wares have beene heretofore, and yet are in part, procured into Christendome. But lest it should seeme incredible, that the Turke would let so great a masse of Treasure yeerely to passe his Dominions, to the Indians, and to the Persians his professed enemies; I will make the matter yet more plaine.

Turkey hath litle meanes for Linnen but onely from India.

And first concerning the raw Silkes, it is alreadie shewed, that he hath the money from the Christians, besides the benefit he reapeth in their Customes, with great employments also for his Subjects. And for Callicoes (his whole Empire having little or no other meanes for Linnen) he cannot possibly be without them, although it hath, and doth greatly exhaust his Treasure, neither doth he gayne any manufacture by the same, as the Christians have alwayes done by the raw Silke, to the great reliefe of innumerable poore people, so much provided for, by the pollicie of all well governed and flourishing Common-wealths; As by this occasion, and in a businesse of the like kind, I may instance the States of Genovay, Florence, and Luca; who for the maintenance of Arts and Trade, doe provide raw Silkes out of Sicilia for the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling at least yeerly; and for the payment thereof they doe vent at Naples, Palermo, Messina, and those parts, a certaine quantitie of Florence Rashes, and some other Wares, for about one hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling per annum; so the rest, being three hundred and fiftie thou-

The proceedings of some States in Italie for the maintenance of Arts.

The readie moneys which are yeerely carried from some States of Italie into Sicilia.



HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE EAST INDIES

sand pounds sterling, is supplied all in readie moneys: which treasure they doe willingly forsake to procure their Trade: for experience hath taught them that Trade is their employment, and doth returne them Treasure; for by those Silkes (being wrought, transported, and sold at Frankford and other Marts,) they have the better meanes to furnish their Contracts with the King of Spaine in Flanders; and so from Spaine the Silver must returne againe to Italie. But if I should runne out in this and other particulars (fitting our purpose) it would make me too tedious, and so carrie mee beyond my ayme, which is to be briefe.

Wherefore I will proceed to cleere some doubts in those men, who perhaps not having the knowledge of occurrents in forraine parts, might thinke that neither Venice, nor Marcellis have the meanes or yet the minds, to export such great summes of readie moneys yeerely out of those Dominions, especially Marcellis being a part of France, where neighbourhood doth daily tell us, that Gold and Silver may not bee convayed out of that Kingdome, for any valuable summe, more then is permitted for the necessarie use of Travellers: yet neverthelesse, experience hath likewise taught us, that for the effecting of those Trades (whereof we now speake, and which they esteeme so much) there is a free extraction out of the said places, of moneyes both gold and silver; whereof with them there is no want; for, the said Wares doe procure it abundantly.

How Marcellis and Venice are furnished with ready moneys.

First, to Marcellis, it commeth not onely from Genovay, Ligorne, Cartagenia, Malliga, and many other Port Townes of Spaine and Italy, but also from Paris, Roan, Sainct-Malloes, Tolouse, Rochell, Deepe, and other Cities of France; who want not meanes to have great store of Rials and Dollers from Spaine and Germanie.

And in the like manner, the Venetians dispersing the said raw Silkes, and other Wares into the severall States of Italie, Germanie, and Hungarie, (who have but few Commodities fitting their barter or exchange, but onely

moneyes) are therewith abundantly served: for, the Mynes of Hungarie and Germanie affoord good quantitie of Gold and Silver; and likewise the States of Italie, especially Genovay, Florence, and Millane, have ever store of Rials out of Spaine in satisfaction of many great disbursements, which those Merchants make for that King in his occasions of Italie and Flanders; of all which I might make a large discourse, but I conceive I have said sufficient, to shew how the Trade of the East Indies hath beene, and now is brought into Christendome generally; what money is yeerely sent out, by whom, and the possibilitie or meanes which they have to performe it. I will therefore in the next place, satisfie the Objectors, that it is not the East India Trade, which wasteth the Gold, and Silver, Coyne, or other treasure of this Kingdome in particular.

The Italian Merchants doe furnish the King of Spaine with money in Italie and Flanders.

The third part doth shew how the East India Trade doth enrich this Kingdome.

For first, who knoweth not that Gold in the East Indies hath no ratable price with Silver? Neither hath the Silver coyne of England any equall value with the Spanish Rials according to their several prices here; besides that, his Majestie hath not authorized the East India Company, to send away any part of this Kingdoms Coyne, either Gold or Silver, but only a certain limited summe of forren silver yeerly; which as they dare not exceed, so never [I. v. 737.] have they as yet accomplished the same. For it doth plainly appeare in their bookes, that from the originall and first foundation of the Trade in Anno 1601. untill the moneth of July, Anno 1620. they have shipped away onely five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninety pounds sterling in Spanish Rials, and some Dollers; whereas by licence, they might have exported in that time seven hundred and twentie thousand pounds sterling. Also they have laden away in the same terme of ninteene yeeres, out of this Kingdome two hundred ninetie two thousand two hundred eightie sixe pounds sterling in Broad-clothes, Kersies, Lead, Tinne, with some other English and forraine Commodities; which is a good Addition, and vent of our Wares, into such remote

How much money and wares the East India Companie have sent forth ever sithence the beginning of this Trade.

places; where heretofore they have had no utterance at all.

And note, I pray you, how time and industrie hath bettered this Trade, when in the last three yeeres there hath beene sent more Wares to the Indies, then in the sixteene yeeres before; and yet our expectation is not at the highest; for those new borne Trades within the Red Sea, and in the Persian Gulfe, doe bid us hope for better things, as lately by Letters from Spahan, we understand of great quantitie of raw Silke prepared by the English Factors, which (by Gods assistance) wee may expect here about the moneth of August next, with encouragement also to vent our English Cloth, and Kersies in good quantities; the like of Iron, Tinne, and other things, whereof experience (of those already sold) hath given us sufficient approbation of their validitie.

The vent of EnglishWares encreased in the Indies.

Our stocke may be much increased by Trade from Port to Port in the Indies. For this see the former relations, of the Trade from Surat to Achen, and all the Southerne and further Eastern Indies: as thence also to the red Sea &c.

And now (omitting much matter which might be written touching the discoveries of other Trades from one Kingdome or Port to another in the Indies, with the Commodities thereof; whereby the employment of our ships, together with the Stocke of money and goods which is sent out of England in them, may be much encreased) I will draw to a conclusion of the point in hand, and shew that whatsoever summes of forraine readie moneyes are yeerely sent from hence into the East Indies, his Majestie in the Letters Patents granted to that Companie, hath notwithstanding with singular care provided, that the brethren of the Companie, shall yeerely bring in as much Silver, as they send forth; which hath beene alwayes truly performed, with an overplus, to the increase of this Kingdomes treasure: Neither is it likely that the money which is thus contracted for by the Companie at certaine prices, and to be delivered them at times appointed, would be otherwise brought into England, but onely by vertue and for the performance of the said Contracts: for, without this assurance of vent, together with a good price for the

The moneys sent to the Indies is all forrain Coyne. TheEastIndia Companie are obliged to bring in as much money as they carrie out of the Realme.

Tobacco, Raisons, Oyles, and Wines, whereof there is no want, but rather too much Smoke. A proportion of such Trade as is hoped yeerely to be brought into this Realme from East India.

said moneyes, the Merchants would undoubtedly make their returnes in other Wares; the use and extraordinarie consume whereof, would be found lesse profitable to the Common-wealth, when the matter should be duly considered, as I shall yet further endeavour to demonstrate.

And here I will suppose, That the East India Companie may ship out yeerely one hundred thousand pounds sterling: yet it is most certaine, that the Trade being thus driven, with sums of readie moneys, it will not decay, but rather much increase the treasure of the Kingdome: which to prove, I will briefly set downe the substance of the English Trade unto the East Indies, concerning the quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares, to be yeerly bought there, and sold here; with the usuall prices given for them in both places. And first, I will beginne with their cost and charges laden cleere aboord the ships in the East Indies.

In the East Indies.

Two thousand five hundred thousand pounds of Pepper, at two pence half-penie the pound, cost twentie sixe thousand fortie one pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Cloves, at nine pence the pound, cost five thousand six hundred twentie sixe pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure pence the pound, cost two thousand five hundred pounds. Fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost one thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost eleven thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at seven shillings the pound, cost thirtie seven thousand foure hundred nintie nine pounds. Fiftie thousand of Callicoes of severall sorts, rated at seven shillings the piece one with another, fifteene

thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, one hundred thousand pounds.

All the said Merchandize have beene often experienced, or bought at or about the prices above written; and we doe hope for our parts (besides the Trade of raw Silkes from Persia) yeerely, to lade from the Indies, such quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares as are here set downe (if it shall please his Majestie, to protect and defend us concerning the Articles of agreement made with the Dutch, that they may not violate any of them to our hindrance or damage) all which wares in England will yeeld (as I doe conceive) the prices hereafter following, viz.

In England.

Two hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Pepper, at twentie pence the pound, cost two hundred and eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand of Cloves, at six shillings the pound, cost fortie five thousand pounds.

[L. v. 738.] *How much the Kingdomes Stocke may increase yeerely by trading to the East Indies.*

One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at two shillings sixe pence the pound, cost eighteene thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds. Fiftie thousand pound of Mace, at sixe shillings the pound, cost fifteene thousand pounds. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at five shillings the pound, cost fiftie thousand pounds. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at twentie shillings the pound, cost one hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds. Fiftie thousand pieces of Callicoes of severall sorts, rated at twentie shillings the piece one with another, cost fiftie thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, foure hundred ninetie foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence.

2500. tunnes of shipping will lade home all the wares afore written from the East Indies. And the materials of the said shipping (unwrought) is worth about 15000 l. sterling.

So that here would be our owne money againe and more, the summe of three hundred ninetie foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds sixe shillings eight

India wares wil bring readie moneys into the Realme.

pence advanced towards the generall Stocke of the Kingdome. For although the East India Companie shall disburse the greatest part of the said summe advanced unto his Majestie for Custome and Impost; and also unto the Factors, Officers, and Mariners, for wages, together with the cost of shipping Victuals, Munitions, Assurance and the like: yet all these (the Materials of shipping onely excepted) are but transmutations and no consumption of the Kingdomes Stocke.

We have no other meanes to procure Treasure but by Trade and Merchandize.

The French and the Venetians send the value of 600000 *l. sterling yeerely in ready money into Turkey.*

Trade maketh some States very rich which have little other meanes.

But if any man object and say, that the said Commodities being brought into England (as is before written) they are either consumed in the Land, or being transported into forraine parts, they are changed into other Wares: So that still we want our hundred thousand pounds in readie money. The answere is, First, that in the occasion of this dispute, wee must conceive the said Wares to be of no use for this Kingdome, but onely for so much, as doe concerne the Trade thereof. And Secondly, in the said Trade we must consider, that although the said goods be sent out, and returned home in other Wares from forraine parts; yet still, they are negotiated to the increase of the said Stocke, and for the imployment of the Subjects. Lastly, if there be a resolution to determine and end the businesse: who doubteth, that the whole value may not bee presently returned hither in readie moneyes? For in Italie, Turkey, and other places, where they are most vendible to profit, there likewise is the money free to be exported at all times and by whomsoever.

If the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth export a greater value in wares then it doth import yeerly, then doth our treasure increase.

The Trade to the East Indies may be said to export 480000 *pounds and to import* 120000 *l. yeerely. So the overballance*

And as it is most certaine, that some other Merchandize, sent out of this Kingdome, were the meanes to bring in the hundred thousand pounds in readie moneyes, which is here supposed to be sent and imployed in the East Indies (as aforesaid) so likewise, there is the same power in these Indian wares, to procure other summes of readie moneyes, to bee brought into this Kingdome: For let not man doubt, but that money doth attend Merchandize, for money is the prize of wares, and wares are the proper use of money; so that their coherence is unsepar-

A.D. c. 1620.

able. And if the French and the Venetians, made any doubt of this, they would not so willingly permit the value of sixe hundred thousand pounds sterling, or more in Spanish Rialls and Dollers, yeerly to be carryed out of their Dominions into Turkey: whereof three quarter parts at least are imployed, onely for the buying of Persia raw Silkes, which commoditie doth presently enable them with readie money from divers other States to performe the Trade; whereby their wealth doth much increase, and their people are greatly imployed. So to conclude this point, I will onely adde, that the East India Trade alone (although it be driven in no amplyer manner then is afore written) is a meanes to bring more treasure into the Realme then all the other trades of this Kingdome (as they are now managed) being put together. For if the rule be true, that when the value of our commodities exported doth over-ballance the worth of all those forraigne wares, which are imported and consumed in this Kingdome, then the remaynder of our stocke which is sent forth, must of necessitie returne to us in Treasure. I am confident, that upon a diligent and true inquirie it will be found, that the over-ballance of all our other Trades together, will not amount unto so great a summe of money as the East India Trade alone doth over-ballance in this kinde.

is 360000 l. sterling. Every action ought especially to be considered in his end. The East Indian wares which were sent beyond the Seas, are sold and have their finall end in money, which might bee brought into this Realme in that kind, if our other Trades did not divert the same.

And to make the matter yet more plaine, whereas it is already said that one hundred thousand pounds in money exported, may import about the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, in wares from the East Indies, we must understand that part thereof to be properly called our importation that this Realme doth consume, which is about the value of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling yeerly. So the remaynder being three hundred and eightie thousand pounds, is matter exported unto forraine parts in the nature of our Cloth, Lead, Tin, or any other native commodities, to the great increase of this Kingdomes stocke, and that also in so much treasure, so farre as the East India Trade can be

rightly understood to subsist in this particular. For as all humane actions have their Termination and Ends, so likewise there must bee an end assigned unto the affaires of the East Indies; which are then truely said to bee finished, when this Realme is served, and the remainder of those Wares which are sent from hence beyond the Seas, sold there and converted into money; which likewise from thence may bee brought away freely and without the danger of Law, or prohibition. Forasmuch therefore as it is well knowne to many men, that moneys are thus procured by the Sales of Indian Wares to profit, in the parts of Turkey, and at Ligorne, Genoway, the [I. v. 739.] Netherlands, Marcellis, and other places: yet notwithstanding if all the said Coyne, or any part thereof should bee diverted from this Realme by some other new imployments or affaires, it must neverthelesse bee granted, that the said India wares had their finall end in monies. But I will cease to heape up any more arguments, to prove a matter which is alreadie made so plaine; wherefore leaving this Objection, I will endevour to give Answere to the next.

The second Objection.

The Timber, Planke, and other materials, for making of shipping, is exceedingly wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great Ships, as are yeerely sent to Trade in the East Indies; and yet the State hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home very weake and unserviceable.

The Answere.

THis East India Trade seemeth to be borne and brought up an Unthrift, for it wasteth and consumeth all; Neither doth it good to any.

The first Part concerneth the folly of the Objection.

1 But the Objection, in some part is very weake:
2 And in the rest it is mistaken.

For first, concerning the weaknesse thereof, would men

have us to keepe our woods and goodly trees to looke upon? they might aswell forbid the working of our wools, and sending forth our cloth to forraigne parts; for both are meanes alike to procure the necessary wares, which this Kingdome wanteth. Do they not know that trees doe live and grow: and being great, they have a time to dye and rot, if oportunitie make no better use of them? and what more noble or profitable use then goodly ships for Trade and Warre? Are they not our Barnes for wealth, and plentie, serving as wals and bulwarkes for our peace and happinesse? Doe not their yeerely buildings maintayne many hundred poore people, and greatly increase the number of those Artesmen which are so needfull for this Common-wealth? And is not all this good performed also (with great providence) by bringing in yeerely store of Timber, and other provisions from Ireland? Why then, where is the great waste and dearnesse? I am sure, the East India Companie finds it not; for whereas they doe onely buy their provisions in Hampshire, Essex, Kent, and Barkshire, in all which places they now may have both Timber, Plankes, Sheathing boards, Trenals and the like, both for goodnesse and price, as cheape (yea better cheape) then they have beene this fifteene yeeres; and likewise in all that course of time their Bookes doe plainly shew that those wares have never varied much; for if they have risen any small matter in one yeare, they have fallen as much the next. And yet I pray you observe (besides the East India Companies buildings) the many goodly ships which are daily made for other private Merchants (such as England never had before) and that which is most remarkable, is the continuall late buildings of his Majestie, thereby yearely adding more strength and glory of great ships, to his Royall and matchlesse Navy; so that here we see this supposed waste and want is not considerable.

The providence of the East India Company for Timber and Plancke. The East India Trade hath not indeared the materials which serve to make ships.

Yea but, say they, the East India ships are never here to serve the Kingdome upon occasion: Or if they beate home, they are weake and unfit for service.

The second Part sheweth the mistaking in the Objection.

In Trade of Merchandize our ships must goe and come, they are not made to stay at home; Yet neverlesse, the East India Company are well prepared at all times, to serve his Majestie and his Kingdomes, with many warlike provisions, which they alwayes keepe in store; such as Timber, Planckes, Ironworkes, Masts, Cordage, Anchors, Caske, Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Victuals readie packed, Wine, Sider, and a World of other things, fitting the present building, repairing and dispatch of ships to Sea; as may be plentifully seene in their yards and storehouses at Deptford, and more especially in those at Blackewall; which are growne so famous, that they are daily visited and viewed by strangers, as well Embassadors as others; to their great admiration of his Majesties strength and glorie, in one only Company of his Merchants, able at short warning to set forth a Fleet of ships of great force and power.

The Warlike provision which the East India Companie keepe in store.

His Majesties strength in the East India Company alone.

For it is well knowne to all men who please truly to bee informed, That the East India Companie (besides their Fleets of ships going and comming, and also abiding in the Indies) are continually building, repayring, rigging, victualling, and furnishing to Sea, with all provision needfull for such a long Voyage, some seven or eight great ships yearely; which are to bee seene at an Anchor in the River of Thames in a great forwardnesse some five or sixe moneths together, before they commonly depart for the Indies, which is about the moneth of March: and they are no sooner got off from the Coast of England, but shortly after, is the season of our shippes to returne from the Indies; who come not home so weake as some would have them; for how often hath experience beene made of our ships which have performed two or three severall Voyages to the East Indies? Yet at their returne, they have beene indocked, new trimmed and lanched out againe, fitted for the like Voyages, in lesse then two monethes. But it will be needlesse to spend any more time in shewing the errors of this second Objection: therefore I will rather come to the handling of that which followeth.

The shippes which returne from the East Indies home, may be repayred in a very short time.

The third Objection. [I. v. 740.]

The Voyages to the East Indies doe greatly consume our victuals, and our Mariners: leaving many poore Widdowes and Children unrelieved; Besides, that many Shippes are yeerely sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned; Also, this Trade hath greatly decayed the Traffique and shipping, which were woont to be imployed into the Streights: And yet the said Trade to the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers: Neither doth the Commonwealth find any benefit by the cheapenesse of Spice and Indico, more then in times past.

The Answere.

WHy, what a World of Mischiefes have we here? First, Dearth. Secondly, Mortalitie. Thirdly, Destruction. Fourthly, Beggerie. Fiftly, And never a whit the neere. A very Teame of Calamities, drawing on to miserie; is it not then high time to seeke a remedie? yes verily, and it will be easily done, because these evils never were (as yet at least) procured by the East India Trade, as I shall shew, by answering all the parts in order as they stand: and first of Dearth.

The first Part concerneth Dearth.

It is both naturall and just, that every Kingdome, State, or Common-wealth, should feede and cherish up the Native people of all degrees and conditions whatsoever, to their preservation of life and health, with such meanes and moderation, as their plentie shall affoord; and this is not onely due to them in the time of their aboad at home, but also upon all occasions of Voyages into other Countries beyond the Seas, wherein they shall bee imployed for their owne maintenance, and for the good of the Common-wealth.

The manner how the East India Company do victuall their ships.

Now therefore concerning the provision of victuals (which in this Kingdome is yeerely prepared for the setting forth of those shippes which saile to the East Indies) it is well knowne to many men, that it is alwayes proportioned,

for about eighteene monethes; whereas commonly the Voyages prove a yeare longer, so that this over-plus of time, is furnished with the victuals of forreine parts.

And likewise for the Bread and Bisket which is shipped from hence, hath it not alwayes bin made of French Corne, purposely brought over hither (and that at a deare rate) onely to preserve the plentie of our owne graine? untill now of late dayes that the Farmers heere beginne to cry out and say, That the cheapnesse of Corne doth disinable them to pay their deare Rents: Thus doe the East India Company every way accommodate their proceedings for the good of the Kingdome.

And further concerning their Drinke, is it not a very great part water? Some Wine and Sider and but little Beere.

Also the Flesh they eate, is Beefe and Porke, and that onely for three dayes in a weeke; the rest of their victuals is Fish, some Butter, Cheese, Pease, Oat-meale, and other things; all which is proportioned into a very sparing Dyet to every man by allowance: so that heere is no Excesse nor Riot, or any other meanes to make our victuals scant and deare, as is by some erroniously supposed; but rather by this course of life, our plentie is much advanced. And so I will give answere to the next part which is mortalitie and great decay of Mariners.

The second Part concerneth Mortality.

The life of man is so precious, that it ought not lightly to be exposed to danger; And yet we know, that the whole course of our life, is nothing but a passage unto Death; wherein one can neither stay not slacke his pace, but all men runne in one manner, and in one celeritie; The shorter liver runnes his course no faster then the long, both have a like passeage of time; howbeit, the first hath not so farre to runne as the later.

Now, it is this length of life which Nature seekes, and States likewise endevour to preserve in worthy men; but none are accounted so worthy in this nature, save onely they, who labour in their vocations and functions, both for the publike good, and for their private benefit.

Thus may we esteeme our good Mariners, to be of no small use unto this Common-wealth: but take them from their laudable and accustomed imployments, for want of Voyages to Sea; we see what desperate courses they doe then attempt, by joyning, even with Turkes and Infidels, to rob and spoyle all Christian Nations; so that we may conclude, we must not onely breed up Mariners, but also seeke by Trade, to give them maintenance.

Good Mariners are accounted worthy men in a Common-wealth.

Well, all this is true, but (say they) the East India Company doth neither breed nor maintayne, but destroy the wonted number of our Mariners. How can this be, when it is most certaine, that England (besides the East India Fleets) had never yet more shipping then at this present? neither doe any of them stay at home for want of Mariners, no, not at this time, when many hundred Sailers are employed in extraordinarie service, for his Majestie in a Royall Fleet of ships, now at Sea: besides those great numbers of our best Mariners, which have beene and daily are wasted and taken Prisoners by the Turkes; so where is this want, or what is our miserie more then the want of true information in them that are so ill perswaded of our Company?

[I. v. 741.]

The breeding of 400. Mariners yearely. Besides that the feare of a few mens death ought not to overthrow or hinder the performance of Honourable actions for the service of the K. and Commonwealth.

Is it not certaine that as the East India Voyages are long, so likewise in Natures course many should dye by length of time although they stayed at home? And to recompence the losse of those that dye, doe not the East India Company with great providence, yeerely ship out at least foure hundred Land-men in their Fleets, which in one Voyage prove good Mariners to serve the Kingdome and Common-wealth, unto which many of them were a burthen before they obtayned this employment? And thus is the Kingdome purged of desperate and unruly people, who kept in awe by the good discipline at Sea, doe often change their former course of life, and so advance their fortunes.

Our Mariners owne disordered life is that which killeth many of them.

Neither indeed are these Voyages so dangerous and mortall, as is reported; for how many of our ships have gone and come from the East Indies, without the

losse of five men in a hundreth? Others againe have had worse successe in the first beginning, when the seasons, the places and their contagions were not so well knowne unto us; yet time hath taught us many things, both for the preservation of health, and speedier performance of our Voyage then heretofore. But the Method of my Discourse bids me write more of this in the next part, which is destruction; and this I must divide into two parts.

In the first, I will consider the want of divers ships sent to the East Indies, which are wasted there.

And in the second, I will answere the supposed overthrow of the Turkie Trade, together with much of our shipping which were wont to be employed thither.

The third part concernes the decay of shipping which have beene sent to the Indies. Of the Dutch wrongs & the ships taken by them, see the former Relations of Spurway, Hore, Knowles, &c. with the Depositions of divers men, & in manner all these Indian Voyages. The twelve shippes are the Swan, Defence, Salomon, Attendance (all taken at Banda before Sir Tho. Dale began the war) the

First therefore, concerning the decay of our shippes in the Indies, it cannot bee denyed, but there hath beene great spoyle of them in these three last yeeres; not by the dangers of the Seas, or by the strength of Enemies; but by unkind and unexpected quarrels with our Neighbours the Hollanders, who have taken and surprized twelve of our ships at severall times, and in sundry places, to our unspeakeable losse and hinderance; together with the death of many of our worthyest Mariners, who have beene slaine and dyed Prisoners under their hands: and this hath so much the more encreased the rumour of their Mortalitie: Neither list I here to aggravate the fact, more then thus briefly to give answere to the Objection: for our late union with the Dutch, doth promise a double recompence of gaine in time to come.

And they who make this Trade so poore and unprofitable, are much mistaken in the reckoning; for the present losses which causeth many Adventurers so much to despaire, is not in the substance of the Trade, but by the evill accidents which have befalne the same: and to make this point more plaine, I must yet declare some other particulars: in which I will endeavour very briefly to set downe the summe of the whole businesse, which the English hath hitherto performed in the East Indies.

First, therefore I doe observe that since the beginning of this Trade, untill the moneth of July last, Anno 1620. there have beene sent thither seventie nine ships in severall Voyages, whereof thirtie foure are alreadie come home in safetie richly laden, foure have beene worne out by long service, from Port to Port in the Indies: two were over-whelmed in the trimming there: sixe have beene cast away by the perils of the Seas; twelve have beene taken and surprized by the Dutch, whereof divers will be wasted, and little worth before they bee restored: and one and twentie good shippes doe still remayne in the Indies. So this is a true account of our shippes.

Speedwell, the Starre, the Dragon, the Beare, Expedition, Rose, and the Samson, with the Hound. Our troubles with the Dutch.

And next concerning our stocke, it is a certaine truth, that in all the said ships there hath bin sent out in readie money as well out of this Realme, as from all other places wheresoever beyond the Sea (which hath not beene landed in this Kingdome) the value of five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninetie pounds sterling in forraine Coyne; and together with the said mony, there hath been shipped the value of two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred eightie sixe pounds sterling, in sundry sorts of English and forraine Commodities; all which monies and wares amounting unto eight hundred fortie thousand three hundred seventie sixe pounds, have been disposed as hereafter followeth,

The summe of the affaires to the East Indies ever since the Trade began.

Account of all the money and goods which hath been sent to the East Indies ever since the beginning of the Trade.

First, there hath beene lost thirtie one thousand seventie nine pounds sterling in the sixe ships which are cast away: and in the thirtie foure ships, which are returned in safetie, there hath beene brought home three hundred fiftie sixe thousand two hundred eightie eight pounds sterling in divers sorts of wares, which have produced here in England towards the generall stocke thereof, one million nine hundred, fourteene thousand sixe hundred pounds sterling, for the charges arising here is but a change of effects from one to another, as hath beene said before in this Discourse: So there ought to remayne in the Indies, to bee speedily returned hither, foure hundred eightie foure thousand eightie eight pounds: neither can wee

356288. *l. sterling, hath beene returned from the East Indies which did produce here towards charges,* 1914600. *pounds sterling.*

conceive that our charges and troubles with the Dutch, will have wasted more then the odde eightie foure [I. v. 742.] thousand eightie eight pounds sterling: so that I am confident, that there yet remayneth foure hundred *There remains yet in the East Indies to bee returned home from thence about* 400000. *pounds sterling.* thousand pounds sterling of good estate, for both the joynt Stockes. And what a great value of Indian goods this summe of money may (by Gods blessing) shortly returne in our shippes, which are there readie to bring them, the example here doth teach us to make up the reckoning. So that notwithstanding our great charges of Discoveries, our losses by the danger of the Seas, our quarrels and infinite hinderance by the Dutch: yet here the kingdome hath and shall have her stocke againe with a very great increase, although the Merchants gaines concerning the two joynt stockes will prove but poore, in respect of the former Voyages, which have not had the like hinderance.

And thus in a few lines may be seene, much matter truly collected with some paines, out of the divers Volumes of the East Indian Bookes.

Concerning the decay of shipping and Trade into Turkey. Now concerning the decay of Trade and shipping which were woont to bee imployed into Turkey, I doubt, that in time it will likewise be affirmed, that the East India Company, have hindered the vent of our white Cloth in the Netherlands, which to report were a very strange thing. But (praysed be God) to our comfort, we see the great increase of goodly shippes, daily built and imployed by the Turkey Merchants, with vent of more of our English Cloth (by one third part at least) then in times before the East India Trade began.

Yea, but (say they) wee have lost the Trade of Spices, and Indico from Aleppo into England.

Wel, I grant they have; yet the Kingdome hath found it with more profit by another way, and they likewise are recompenced with a greater Trade, by the exporting from hence of the selfe-same Commodities into Italy, Turkey, and other places: neither can it be lesse profitable for this Kingdome, to turne the Trade of raw Silkes from Aleppo,

and to bring them from the Persian Gulfe, with one third part lesse money, then it doth now cost in Turkey; Besides, that by this meanes, the money proceeding of our English Cloth, Tinne, and other wares in Turkey (not finding Commodities fitting to returne for England) would undoubtedly bee brought home in Gold, as it hath beene performed heretofore, when by superfluitie of stocke sent from hence in Spice, together with our English wares; the Merchants (beeing thereby furnished with a sufficient quantitie of Turkish Commodities) brought home the remaynder of their stocke of those yeares in gold for a great value.

The Turkey Merchants can and will justifie this truth.

Thus doth it plainly appeare, that these revolutions of Trades, have and doe turne to the good of the Commonwealth; neither hath the affaires of the East Indies impayred or decayed any other Trade, Shipping or Mariners of this Realme; but hath mightily increased them all in it selfe. Wherefore let us now take a view of this Noble addition of the Kingdomes strength and glorie.

But this I must not doe, by setting downe the number of our English shipping now in the Indies, or lately gone that way; for they have beene heaped thither, these three last yeares together without returne, save onely five shippes in all that time; the rest have beene kept there to oppose the furie of the Dutch; but now wee are at union, wee shall (by Gods assistance) daily expect divers great ships with rich returnes.

The strength of the East India ships.

And for the future time, this Trade I doe conceive, will royally maintayne tenne thousand tunnes of shipping continually: (That is to say) going, and returning, and abiding there in the Indies; which said shipping will employ two thousand and five hundred Mariners at least; and the building with the repayring of the said ships, heere at home will set to worke five hundred men, Carpenters, Cawkers, Carvers, Joyners, Smiths, and other Labourers, besides many Officers; and about one hundred and twentie Factors, in severall places of the Indies. And

so from these matters of great consequence, I must begin to write of Beggerie.

The fourth part concernes the povertie of widdowes, &c.

The povertie of Widdowes and Fatherlesse is matter of great compassion, and doth alwaies move Christian hearts to commiseration and charitie; whereby many receive reliefe and helpe of those whom God hath blessed with better meanes: but how this povertie should totally bee prevented, it seemeth not onely difficult, but altogether impossible: For besides the evill accidents and miseries, which ever attend on our humanitie we see how many daily (even through their owne folly and wilfulnesse) doe as it were desperately plunge themselves into adversitie. And thus the number of those is great, who having the charge of wife and children, are notwithstanding altogether without meanes and Artes to procure their maintenance; whereby some of them wanting grace, doe run a desperate course, and have untimely ends. Others againe beeing better inspired, seeke for imployment, but find it not, or with great difficultie: for, who doth willingly entertaine a man poore and miserable, charged with a family, and peradventure debauched in conditions? Neither doe any of our other Merchants voyages to forraine parts accept of those novices, who never have been used to the Sea: So that when all the other doores of charitie are shut, the East India gates stand wide open to receive the needy and the poore, giving them good entertainement with two Moneths wages before hand, to make their needfull provisions for the Voyage. And in the time of their absence, there is likewise payd unto their wives for maintenance, two other moneths wages upon account of every yeares service: and also if any chance to dye in the Voyage, the wife receiveth all that is found due unto her husband (if he doe not otherwise dispose it by will:) and this often happeneth to be more money, then ever they had of their owne together in any one time. And likewise, are not many poore Widdowes, Wives and Children of Black-wall, Lime-house, Ratcliffe, Shadwell, and Wapping, often relieved by the East India Company with

The East India Trade doth employ many poore men, & deboist people which other Trades refuse. Wages before hand is not given in other Merchants Voyages, neyther yet so great wages as the East India Company pay.

[I. v. 743.]

When did any of these Widdowes beg for reliefe in our Churches, as others often doe?

whole Hogsheads of good Biefe and Porke, Bisket and Doales of ready money? Are not divers of their children set on worke to picke Okam, and other labours fitting their age and capacitie? What might I not say of repayring of Churches, maintenance of some young Schollers, relieving of many poore Preachers of the Gospell yearely with good summes of money; and divers other acts of charitie, which are by them religiously performed, even in the times now of their worst fortunes? for all which I hope there shall be a reward unto them and theirs. And so I come to the fift part of this third Objection.

The East India company their charitie.

The fifth Part concerneth the cheapenes of Spice and Indico at this present, in respect of former times.

And here I must intimate how much they are deceived, who thinke, that Spices and Indico are no better cheape in England now, then in times past, before the East India trade began. For, it is an undoubted truth, that in those dayes we often paid sixe shillings, or more for a pound of Pepper, and seldome or never lesse then three shillings and sixe pence the pound; whereas since the Trade hath come directly from the Indies, it hath been bought commonly at severall prices betweene sixteene pence and two shillings the pound: but I will make the difference of price appeare more plainely by setting downe the quantities of Spices and Indico, which are yearely spent in the Realme of England, together with the lowest prices, which they were wont to sell at, when we brought them from Turkey and Lisborne; and the like concerning their usuall prices now that we bring them from the East Indies directly: And first as from Turkey, foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at three shillings six pence the pound, is threescore & ten thousand pounds: Fortie thousand pounds of Cloves at eight shillings the pound, is sixteene thousand pounds: twenty thousand pounds of Maces at nine shillings the pound, is nine thousand pounds: One hundred and sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure shillings sixe pence the pound, is six and thirtie thousand pounds: One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at seven shillings the pound,

Prices of spice and Indico in former times.

is fifty two thousand five hundred pounds. All these summes being put together, comes to one hundred eightie three thousand five hundred pounds Sterling.

Prices of spice and Indico in these latter times.

And the selfe same quantity and sorts of wares are commonly sold at the prices here under written now in these later times: Foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at twenty pence the pound, is thirtie three thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds, sixe shillings, eight pence: forty thousand pounds of Cloves at six pence the pound, is twelve thousand pound: twenty thousand pounds of Mace at six shillings the pound, is six thousand pounds: one hundred sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings six pence the pound, is twentie thousand pounds: one hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at five shillings the pound, is seven and thirtie thousand pounds. All these summes beeing put together, is one hundred eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence sterling.

So that this Trade in Spice and Indico only, doth save the kingdom yerely seventy foure thousand nine hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence, which is a matter worthy to be observed; and so much the rather, because it is a certaine truth, that lesse then a quarter part of this summe of mony which is thus saved yearely, shall buy in the Indies the full quantitie of all the severall sorts of wares before written, which doe serve for a yeares provision for this Realme of England; but still it must be remembred, that the custom, impost, wages, victuals, shipping, and other charges (which are to be added) will be a greater summe, then the mony which is paid for these wares in the Indies: but as I have noted before, the said charges doe not consume the Kingdomes stocke, although it doth greatly abate the Merchants gaine.

Lesse then eighteene thousand pounds sterling in the Indies, will buy Spice and Indico to serve this Realme for a yeare, which is not halfe so much money as it spendeth beyond the seas to buy Currands only, or to buy Tobacco.

The wares only which are

And to conclude this point, I will adde unto that which hath been said; that the commodities onely which we now send yearely into the East Indies and Persia, are of sufficient value there to returne us Indico, Spices, Drugs, and all other sorts of Indian wares (Raw-silkes of Persia

only excepted) for one yeares consume, or more in this Kingdome: so that now all the money which is sent forth in our Ships doth procure an over-plus of the said wares, to the furtherance of Trade from India hither, and after from hence to forreine parts againe, to the great imployment of the Subjects, and inriching of this Realme, both in Stocke and Treasure; all which is matter verie worthy to be diligently observed. And so I come to give answere unto the fourth and last Objection.

sent out of this Kingdome into the East Indies, are of sufficient value to furnish this Realme with an overplus of all manner of Indian wares (Persian Raw Silkes only excepted). [I. v. 744.]

The fourth Objection.

It is generally observed, that his Majesties Mint hath had but little imployment ever since the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the onely remedy for this, and so many evils besides, is to put downe this Trade: For what other remedie can there be for the good of the Common-wealth?

The Answere.

THis fourth objection may be devided into three parts: First, An evill declared: Secondly, A remedie propounded: Thirdly, And counsell demanded.

The first Part concerneth his Majesties Mint.

And first concerning the Evill or want of Silver, I thinke it hath been, and is a generall disease of all Nations, and so will continue untill the end of the world; for poore and rich complaine, they never have enough: but it seemeth the maladie is growne mortall here with us, and therefore it cries out for remedy. Well, I hope it is but imagination maketh us sicke, when all our parts be sound and strong: For who knoweth not the inestimable treasure of this Kingdome, in Plate possessed by the people thereof almost of all degrees; in such measure, as never hath been seene in former ages? And for his Majesties Mint, it is well knowne, that there hath been coyned in five yeares together since the East India Company began, six thousand two hundred fourteene pound waight of Gold, and three hundred eleven thousand three hundred fourescore and foure pound weight of sterling

Twenty five thousand pound waight at least of Silver yearely melted downe into Plate, besides old Plate new fashioned, as by credible report.

There hath been coyned great store of Gold and Silver in his Majesties Mint, since the East India Trade began.

Money; all which Gold and Silver doe amount unto the summe of twelve hundred thirteene thousand eight hundred fiftie pounds of sterling Money: How then doth this Trade turne the currant and imployment of the Mint?

There hath been little or no Silver coyned in some yeares, when the East India Company sent out very small summes of money.

But upon the sight of this truth, perhaps it will be said, That we must resort unto the present times (the Mint being idle now.) To which I answere, That likewise the Mint had little or no imployment for coynage of Silver in former times, when the said Company did not export above fifteene or twentie thousand pounds sterling at the most per annum; no, nor yet in the yeares 1608, and 1612; when in the former they shipped out but sixe thousand pound, and in the latter but one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. So that both wayes we see, that the Mint hath had very great imployment five yeares together, sithence the East India Trade began; and also it hath been without imployment divers yeares, when the East India Company have sent away but verie small summes of money; wherefore of necessitie there must bee some other causes and meanes whereby our Silver is not exported onely, but also it is not imported into the Realme as in former times. For wee have not had the meanes by our owne plenty, nor by the scarsitie of our Neighbours (for the space of the last foureteene yeares together) to send out hundreds of Ships laden with Corne, as in times past, which was returned home in Silver; but rather of late yeares (as is much to be feared) a great quantitie of our money hath been carried out of the Kingdome for that Corne, which hath been brought us from the East Countries, and other places, to supply our wants. Thus times doth change, and our fortunes change with them: neither list I to make this matter plainer, by setting downe those meanes, which heretofore brought us store of money, even out of France, and other places, which now are ceased. But without any further medling in the Mint, I will come to the remedie which some propound, by putting downe the East India Company.

Some causes and meanes which were wont to bring Silver into the Realme, are ceased at this present time.

The second Part concerneth the putting downe of the East India Trade.

The East India Trade is greatly desired by other Christian Nations.

But here our comfort is, that the Objectors are not our Judges, whose wisdome and integritie labouring for the honour of his Majestie, and the good of his Kingdome, will soone perceive the mischiefes of this supposed remedie. And that the pretended evill which many with malice chase, is that great good, which other Nations seeke by policie and strength to keepe, and likewise to obtaine; in which proceedings, it concerneth us especially to observe the diligences and practises of the Dutch, who with more gladnesse would undertake the whole Trade to the East Indies, then with any reason wee can abandon that part thereof, which we now enjoy; neither can our restraint from the Indies keepe our Silver from thence, as long as the Dutch goe thither: for we know, that devices want not to furnish such designes; and when their Ships returne from India, shall not our Silver out againe to helpe to pay a double price, or what they please, for all those wares which we shall want for our necessities?

The Dutch might grow strong and rich by our destruction.

Thus should the Dutch increase their honour, wealth and strength, whilest we abate, grow poore and weake at Sea for want of Trade: And call you this a Remedie? no, rather tearme it Ruine, Destruction, or what you list. And so I come unto the conclusion or last part.

The third Part concerneth the councell which the Objecters demand.

And here I must confesse my self aground, for this matter is much too high for my handling: besides, my excuse is faire, having alreadie done my taske to cleare the East India Trade from imputation; the which for want of learning, although I have performed, without varietie of words or eloquence: yet it is done with all integritie of truth, in every particular, as I shall be ready to make proofe upon all occasions, which may be offered. And yet before I make an end, although I cannot satisfie every mans desire, in such measure as is necessarie: yet I thinke it not amisse to performe the same so farre, as I am able by common practice, and my observations in the Trade of Merchandize, which is my profession.

And first therefore, all men doe know, that the riches or sufficiencie of every Kingdome, State, or Common-

wealth, consisteth in the possession of those things, which are needfull for a civill life. This sufficiency is of two sorts; the one is naturall, and proceedeth of the Territorie it selfe; the other is artificiall, and dependeth on the industrie of the Inhabitants.

[I. v. 745.] *The riches of a Kingdome is of two sorts.*

The Realme of England (praised be God) is happily possessed of them both: as first, having great plentie of naturall riches, both in the Sea for Fish, and on the Land for Wooll, Cattell, Corne, Lead, Tinne, Iron, and many other things for Food, Rayment, and Munition; insomuch that upon strict termes of need, this Land may live without the helpe of any other Nation. But to live well, to flourish, and grow rich, we must find meanes by Trade to vent our superfluities; therewith to furnish and adorne us with the treasure and those necessarie Wares which forraine Nations doe affoord: and here Industrie must begin to play his part, not onely to increase and guide the Trades abroad, but also to maintaine and multiplie the Arts at home: for when either of these faile, or are not effected with such skill as their mysterie shall require, then doth the Common-wealth abate and grow poore: neither is it easily perceived at first, untill some evill accidents doe stirre up our diligence to search out the true causes; that so they being remooved, the effects may cease. And this is the subject of our Discourse which wee now pursue.

This Kind of Industrie maketh some Countries which are poor of themselves, to grow rich and strong by other Nations, who have greater meanes, and are lesse industrious.

That which I have hitherto delivered hath beene altogether negative, still defending and proving by arguments, that the East India Trade hath not hurt this Common-wealth: And now changing my stile, I must affirme as fast the true causes of those evils which we seeke to chase away.

Foure principall Causes which carry away our Gold and Silver.

These causes then (as I conceive) are principally foure. The first, is the breach of Entercourse by forraine Nations. The second, is the abuse of the exchanges betwixt us and other Countries. The third, is neglect of dutie in some Subjects. The fourth, is our damage in commerce with Strangers. Now concerning all these, I might make a very large discourse; but my purpose is onely to

explane the meaning of every point in order, as briefly as I can.

The first Cause concerneth the Standard. Proceedings against entercourse.

And first for the breach of Entercourse; by this I understand those Nations, who have either debased their Standard, or else over valued the price of their Coynes from that equivalence which formerly they had with the Standard and Moneys of this Realme: and also doe tolerate, not onely their owne Moneys, but also the Coyne of other Countries (and especially of this Kingdome) to bee current with them at higher rates, then the prices of the exchange; by which courses (being directly against the Entercourse) there is a greater cause given of exportation of the Moneys of this Realme, then otherwise there would be. For although this is done with great danger to the Exporters of the same, (it being an act against the Law of the Land) yet notwithstanding covetousnesse being ever conversant in wicked actions, thinketh nothing unlawfull which promiseth a certaine gaine; and how to remedie this evill practice I find it not easie. For the debasing of the Coyne, or raysing the price thereof in this Realme, would much impoverish the estates of particular men, and yet in the conclusion, would prove a businesse without end: for who doth not conceive that which would follow beyond the Seas upon any such alteration heere with us? so that still the evill will remaine, untill we find some other remedie.

The Second Cause concerneth the exchanges of moneys with forrain Countries. The practice of those Strangers here in this Realme, who make a Trade by exchange of moneys.

And for the exchanges of money used betwixt Nations, although the true use thereof is a very laudable and necessarie practice for the accommodating of Merchants affaires, and furnishing of Travellers in their occasions, without the transporting of Coyne from one State to another, with danger and losse both to the publike and private wealth: yet is the abuse thereof very prejudiciall unto this Kingdome in particular; whilest in the interim the benefit doth arise unto other Countries, who diligently observing the prices whereby the moneys be exchanged, may take advantage to carrie away the Gold and Silver of this Realme at those times, when the rate of our sterling money (in

exchange) is under the value of that Standard, unto which place they are convayed: For in respect the prices of the exchanges, doe rise or fall according to the plentie or scarsitie of money, which is to bee taken up, or delivered out, the exchange is hereby become rather a Trade for some great moneyed men, then a furtherance and accommodation of reall Trade to Merchants, as it ought to bee in the true use thereof. And thus many times money may be made over hither by strangers to a good gaine, and presently carried beyond the Seas to a second profit; and yet the mischiefe ends not here: for by this meanes the takers up of money in forraine Countreys must necessarily drive a Trade to those places, from whence they draw their moneys; and so doe fill us up with forraine Commodities, without the vent of our owne Wares: but for this great evill, there is an easie remedie, and so I come to handle the next cause which is neglect of dutie.

Forrain Wares brought in with our ready moneys carried out of this Realme.

The Third Cause concerneth neglect of duties.

Neither is it my intent to write of duties in their severall kinds; but onely of that kind of dutie which is here thought to be neglected by some men in their severall vocations. As it might peradventure come to passe, in those who have the working of his Majesties Coyne, either gold or silver; if diligent care be not had in the size of every severall piece, to answere justly to his weight: for howsoever upon triall of many pieces altogether, the weight may be sound according to the Covenants, and within the remedies ordained in the Indentures: yet notwithstanding many of those pieces may be sized too light, and others as much too heavie; which giveth the greater advantage to some people, to carrie away that which is over-weight, and so to leave us them which are too light, if they leave us any. And this mischiefe is not single; for thereby also some Gold-smiths, regarding profit more than dutie, may bee the more readily drawne to melt downe the heavie Coyne into Plate and other ornaments both of gold and silver. But what might wee thinke of those men who are placed in authoritie and office for his Majestie, if they should not withall dutifull

Our heavie monie is conveyed beyond the Seas, and melted downe into Plate here in the Realme.

care discharge their trust concerning that excellent Statute, wherein it is ordered, that all the moneys received by strangers for their Merchandize, shall be employed upon the Commodities of this Realme? the due performance whereof would not onely prevent the carrying away of much Gold and Silver, but also bee a meanes of greater vent of our owne Wares: whereof I purpose to write some thing more in the next part which concerneth our commerce with strangers. [I. v. 746.] *Anno* 17. *Edward.* 4.

The Fourth Cause concerneth our commerce with Strangers.

And now I come to the last point, which I feare is not the least amongst the causes of our want of money (so farre as any such may be,) and let it not seeme strange to any man, that Trades should hurt and impoverish a Common-wealth, since it hath beene alwayes accounted an excellent meanes to helpe and enrich the same: for, as this truth cannot be denied with reason, so it is likewise most certaine, that the unskilfull managing thereof hath ever proved a great decay unto those Nations who have beene entangled with such errours. And are not the examples too frequent in many of our owne Merchants, who not onely by the perils of the Seas and such like misfortunes lose their goods, but also even through want of knowledge, wisely to direct their affaires, doe overthrow their whole estates? Neither may we properly call this their losse, but rather the Kingdomes losse in them. Wherefore it were to be wished, that this mysterie of Merchandize might be left onely to them who have had an education thereunto; and not to be undertaken by such, who leaving their proper vocations, doe for want of skill in this, both overthrow themselves, and others who are better practised.

Unskilfull Merchants overthrow our Trades.

Merchants by education are onely fit to trade in forraine parts.

But there is yet a farre greater mischiefe by our Trades beyond the Seas, when peradventure, there might be imported yeerely a greater value in forraine Wares, then by any way or meanes wee doe export of our owne Commodities; which cannot otherwise come to passe, then with a manifest impoverishing of the Common-wealth: for as it is a certaine course to make us rich, both in

Stocke and Treasure, when wee shall carrie out a greater value of our owne goods then wee bring in of forraine Wares; so by consequence, a course contrarie to this, must of necessitie worke a contrarie effect. Neither is this importation meant otherwise then concerning those Wares, which are consumed in this Realme: for the Commodities which are brought in, and after carried out unto forraine parts againe, cannot hurt, but doe greatly helpe the Common-wealth, by encrease of his Majesties Customes and Trades, with other imployments of the Subjects: by which particulars I might yet set forth the glorie of the East India Trade, which hath brought into this Realme in fifteene moneths space, not onely so much Spice, as hath served the same for the said time; but also by the superfluitie thereof, there hath beene exported into forraine parts for about two hundred and fifteene thousand pounds sterling. So then let all men judge, for what a great value we may hope hereafter to export yeerely; when unto these Spices wee may (by Gods assistance) adde the infinite worth of raw Silkes, Indicoes, Callicoes, and some other things: all which are to be issued in the nature of Cloth, Lead, Tinne, or any of our owne Merchandize to the enriching of this Kingdome by encrease of the common Stocke. So then to conclude this point, wee ought not to avoid the importation of forraine Wares, but rather willingly to bridle our owne affections to the moderate consuming of the same: for otherwise, howsoever the East India Trade in particular is an excellent meanes greatly to encrease the Stocke of money which wee send thither yeerely, by returning home five times the value thereof in rich Commodities; all which (in short time) may be converted into Treasure, as is plainely shewed alreadie. Yet notwithstanding, if these Indian Wares thus brought home cannot be spared, to serve for that purpose of Treasure; but must bee sent forth together with our owne native Commodities; and yet all little enough, to provide our excesse and extraordinarie

How rich Common-wealths may become poore.

ForrainWares brought in for Transito cannot hurt, but greatly helpe the Common-wealth.

Hopes to increaseTrade by exportation of Indian Wares to forrain parts.

Theparticular Trade to the East Indies will bring great store of treasure into this Realme, if the generall Trade of this Kingdome doe not hinder and consume it.

A.D. c. 1620.

consume of forraine Wares: then is it likewise as certaine, that the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth hinder and divert the comming in of the said Treasure, by overballancing the value of our Wares exported with the importation and immoderate consume of forraine Commodities.

The Dutch in particular, are said to reape such infinite wealth yeerely by this fishing Trade, that without more certaine knowledge thereof I dare not set downe the summe, it seemeth so incredible. See hereof D. Dees booke: as also Cap. Smiths.

Therefore, forasmuch as the number of the people in this Realme are thought to be greatly encreased of late time (both in themselves and strangers,) whereby necessarily the Commodities of this Kingdom, and also forren Wares, are the more consumed and wasted, (a double meanes to abate the Common-wealth) it therefore concerneth us all in generall, and every man in his particular, to stirre up our minds and diligence, to helpe the naturall Commodities of this Realme by industrie, and increase of Arts; seeing that the materials cannot be wanting to make such Stuffes, and other things as are daily brought unto us from forraine parts, to the great advantage of Strangers, and to our no lesse damage. Neither should wee neglect the riches which our Seas affoord, whilest other Nations by their labour doe procure themselves great Treasure from the same. And as the diligent performance of these things would plentifully maintaine the Poore, and much increase the common Stocke of this Kingdome: so likewise for the better furtherance thereof, wee ought religiously to avoyd our common excesses of food and rayment, which is growne to such a height in most degrees of people (above their abilitie) that it is now beyond all example of former Ages. Neither is it needfull for mee to set downe the particulars of these abuses; for they are too well knowne: and I am confident, that the wisedome of our Government doth endeavour to see them as well amended, to the glorie of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the Commonwealth. Amen.

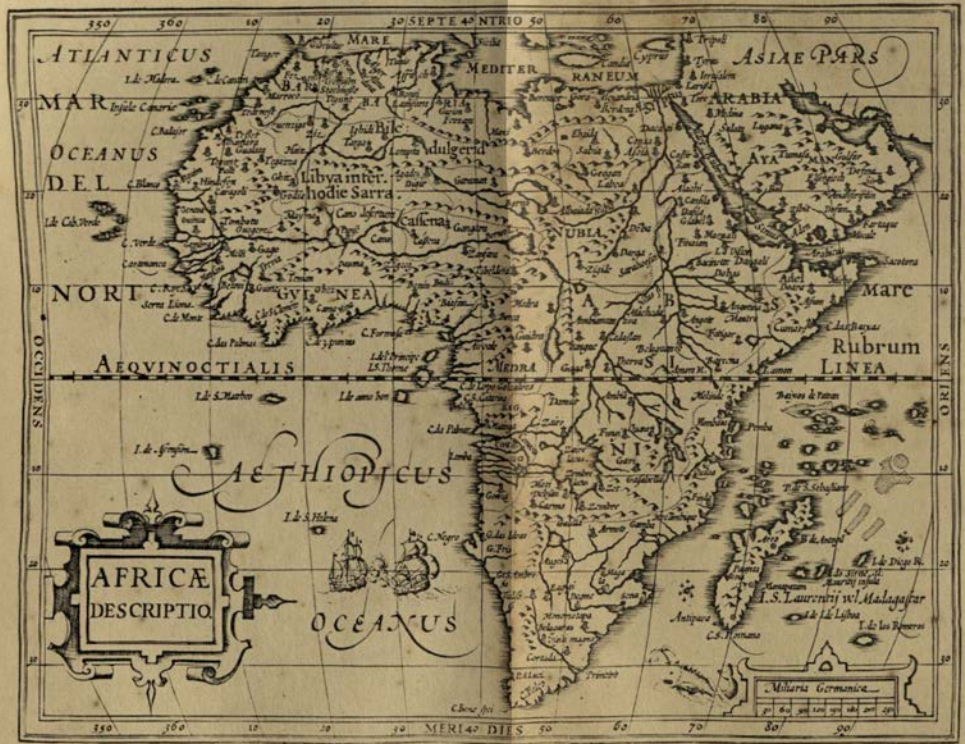
[Courteous Reader

[I. v. 747.] COurteous Reader, I could have added others indeavours in this defensive Argument for the East Indian Trade; and especially that of that learned Gentleman Sir Dud. Diggs: But because himselfe is now absent in weightier Employments, and I knew not whether he would be willing to see it mustered and marshalled in my Files, I was loth to doe it: For his ill-will I have cause to bee unwilling to purchase, whose good-will hath purchased mine and mee (a worthlesse Purchas) in effecting my present good, in affecting greater, that I might have beene enabled to have bestowed on the world my promised perfected World. Wherein not to have succeeded, is yet (as that vast and incompetible designe of mine) to have exceeded, as others otherwise, so herein himselfe. Besides, later occurrents have ministred other Strings for busie Fingers to harpe on, (though not with best Harmonie) since the edition of that Booke. I had thought also to have added somewhat out of Master Misseldens Free Trade, fitting the present businesse: but seeming to have made not an Indian Voyage, but a Plantation, in so long stay there, I will bring you homewards: and because the wonted way of returne is by encompassing Africa, that course also wee will here take: and to prevent Sea-sicknesse, and the lazie Scorbute, we will not onely touch on the Shoare, but adventure into the maine Land, and follow the best Guides, both English and others, thorow the African both Desarts and Habitations: of whom John Leo is the best that hath written in that Argument, and as a Lion may conduct the most fearefull thorow the most perillous passages. For what may not Cowards doe, having a Lion to their Guide and Captaine?

The end of the Fifth Booke.

A MAP OF AFRICA

FOr the Readers greater both pleasure and profit, I have here premised to the following Historie of Africa, this generall Map of Africa (published by Hondius) that hee may indeed see, even with both Eyes of Geographie (the Mappe and the Relation) to travell thorow that least knowne part of the Elder-knowne World. Other Maps more particular we shall adde in their places. [I. v. 748.]



HONDIUS HIS MAP OF AFRICA

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, GEORGE,

Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of Buckingham, Viscount Villiers, Baron of Whaddon, Lord High Admirall of England, Justice in Eyre of all his Majesties Forests, Parkes, and Chaces beyond Trent;

Master of His Majesties Horse, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and One of His Majesties most Honorable Privie Councell.

Aving presented to the Princes Highnesse a World of Histories composed into a Historie of the World, I durst not set saile with so great a Fleet of Sea-voyages (a principall part thereof) before I became humble Sutor to Your Grace for license from the Admiraltie. Pardon this presumption, which Your Greatnesse requireth, Your Goodnesse inviteth, and the nature of the Worke exacteth. His Majestie, the breath of our nosthrils, the Life and Rule of our actions, hath by many graces otherwise, and by exemplarie dedication, taught Others Bookes there to seeke delightsome shaddow, where His gave so glorious light.

Neither may any Name stand so neere That of His Highnesse, especially in a Booke of Sea and Land Travels, as His who hath beene so late and faithfull a Traveller

with Him by Sea and Land; Nor the Kings honor (here aymed at) bee more welcome to any then the Kings Friend, whom the King will honour; Nor can acts of Navigation bee any where more sutable then to a Noble mind, now fixing his best and blest thoughts on discovering a neerer passage to the remoter World, and under whose Charge the Navie Royall more flourisheth then ever. By some of Yours also the Author was encouraged to undertake this great worke, which now therefore returneth to your Grace, as that Sea whence the Springs first flowed. May it please your Graces taste (more from such employments cannot be expected) to incite inferior appetites: and I hope that to such sweetnesse of Nature, this Historie of Nature will not be altogether distastfull. God Almightie blesse and prosper your Grace, and all your Loyall services to His Majestie, with increase of Divine, Royall, and Princely favour.

Amen.

Your Graces

lowly Orator

SAMUEL PURCHAS.

Navigations, Voyages,

and Land-Discoveries, with other Historicall Relations of Afrike

THE SIXTH BOOKE

Chap. I.

Observations of Africa, taken out of John Leo his nine Bookes, translated by Master * Pory, and the most remarkable things hither transcribed.

**In divers places the translation is amended.*

§. I.

Collections out of the first Booke of John Leo, touching the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more generall considerations of Africa.

Frica is called in the Arabian Tongue Iphrichia, of the word Faraca, which signifieth in the said Language, to divide: but why it should be so called, there are two opinions; the first is this: namely, because this part of the World is divided from Europa by the Mediterran Sea, and from Asia * by the River of Nilus. Others are of opinion

Why this part of the World was so named Africa. JohnLeo, lib. 1.

**Others divide it from Asia by the Red Sea.*

dicta, so likewise Africa was the name of the whole and of a speciall part; As there was Asia proprie amongst the Ancients, so (but in larger latent) with the African Authors and John Leo. and that both

that this name of Africa was derived from one Ifricus the King of Arabia Fœlix, who is said to have beene the first that ever inhabited these parts. This Ifricus waging war against the King of Assyria, & being at length by him driven out of his Kingdome, passed with his whole Armie over Nilus, and so conducting his troupes westward, made no delay till he was come unto the Region lying about Carthage. Hence it is that the Arabians doe imagine the Countrey about Carthage onely, and the Regions lying Westward thereof, to comprehend all Africa.

The borders of Africa.

Africa (if we may give credit unto the Writers of that Nation, being men of Learning, and most skilfull Cosmographers) beginneth Southward at certaine Rivers issuing forth of a Lake in the Desart of Gaoga. East-ward it bordereth upon the River Nilus. It extendeth North-ward to that part of Egypt, where Nilus at seven mouthes dischargeth his streames into the Mediterran Sea: from whence it stretcheth Westward as farre as the Straights of Gibralter, and is bounded on that part with the utmost Sea-towne of all Libya, called *Nun. Likewise the South part thereof abutteth upon the Ocean Sea, which compasseth Africa almost as farre as the Desarts of Gaoga.

*Non.

[II. vi. 750.] *The division of Africa. We usually cal all Africa which lyeth betweene the Red, Indian, Atlantike, and Mediterran Seas; joyned with a necke of Land to Arabia.*

Our Authours affirme, that Africa is divided into foure parts, that is to say, Barbaria, Numidia, Libya, and the Land of Negros. Barbaria taketh beginning from the Hill called Mejes, which is the extreme part of all the Mountaines of Atlas, beeing distant from Alexandria almost three hundred miles. It is bounded on the North-side with the Mediterran Sea, stretching thence to Mount-Mejes aforesaid, and from Mount-Mejes extending it selfe to the Streights of Gibralter. West-ward it is limited with the said Streights, from whence winding it selfe out of the Mediterran Sea into the mayn Ocean, it is inclosed with the most Westerly point of Atlas: namely, at that Westerne Cape which is next unto the Towne called Messa. And South-ward it is bounded with that side of Atlas which lyeth towards the Medi-

terran Sea. This is the most noble and worthy Region of all Africa, the Inhabitants whereof are of a browne or tawny colour, being a civill people, and prescribe wholsome Lawes and Constitutions unto themselves.

The second part of Africa is called of the Latines Numidia, but of the Arabians Biledulgerid: this Region bringeth forth Dates in great abundance. It beginneth East-ward at the Citie of Eloacat, which is an hundred miles distant from Egypt, and extendeth West as far as the Towne of *Nun, standing upon the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is inclosed with the South-side of Atlas. And the South part thereof bordereth upon the sandy Desarts of Libya. All the Arabians doe usually call it the Land of Dates: because this onely Region of Africa beareth Dates. *Non.

The third part called of the Latines Libya, and of the Arabians Sarra, (which word signifieth a Desart) beginneth Eastward at that part of Nilus which is next unto the Citie of Eloacat, and from thence runneth West-ward as farre as the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is bounded with Numidia, South-ward it abutteth upon the Land of Negros, East-ward it taketh beginning at the Kingdome of Gaoga, and stretcheth West-ward even to the Land of Gualata, which bordereth upon the Ocean Sea.

The fourth part of Africa which is called the Land of Negros, beginneth East-ward at the Kingdome of Gaoga, from whence it extendeth West as farre as Gualata. The North part thereof is inclosed with the Desart of Libya, and the South part, which is unknowne unto us, with the Ocean Sea: howbeit the Merchants which daily come from thence to the Kingdome of Tombuto, have sufficiently described the situation of that Countrey unto us. This Land of Negros hath a mightie River, which taking his name of the Region, is called Niger: this River taketh his originall from the East out of a certaine Desart called by the fore-said Negros, Seu. Others will have this River to spring out of a certaine Lake, and so to runne Westward till it exonerateth it selfe into the Ocean Sea. *The River of Niger.*

Our Cosmographers affirme, that the said River of Niger is derived out of Nilus, which they imagine for some certaine space to bee swallowed up of the Earth, and yet at last to burst forth into such a Lake as is before mentioned. Some others are of opinion, that this River beginneth West-ward to spring out of a certaine Mountaine, and so running East, to make at length a huge Lake: which verily is not like to be true; for they usually saile West-ward from Tombuto to the Kingdome of Ginea, yea, and to the Land of Melli also; both which in respect of Tombuto are situate to the West: neither hath the said Land of Negros any Kingdomes comparable, for beautifull and pleasant soyle, unto those which adjoyne unto the bankes of Niger. And here it is to be noted, that (according to the opinion of our Cosmographers) * that Land of Negros by which Nilus is said to runne (namely, that part of the World which stretcheth East-ward even to the Indian Sea, some Northerly parcell whereof abutteth upon the Red Sea, to wit, the Countrey which lyeth without the Gulfe of Arabia) is not to bee called any member or portion of Africa, and that for many reasons, which are to bee found in the processe of this Historie set downe more at large: The said Countrey is called by the Latines Æthiopia. From thence come certaine religious Friers seared or branded on the face with an hot Iron, who are to be seene almost over all Europe, and specially at Rome. These people have an Emperour, which they call Prete Gianni, the greater part of that Land being inhabited with Christians. Howbeit, there is also a certaine Mahumetane among them, which is said to possesse a great Dominion.

* *Æthiopia.*

A division of the foure forenamed parts of Africa.

Barbarie is distinguished into foure Kingdomes: the first whereof is the Kingdome of Maroco; which is likewise divided into seven Regions or Provinces; namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorre of Maroco, Ducoala, Hazcora, and Tedles. The second Kingdome of Barbarie called Fez, comprehendeth in like sort seven Regions within the bounds thereof; to wit, Temesne, the Terri-

tory of Fez, Azgara, * Elabat, Errif, Garet, and * Elcauz. The third Kingdome is called * Telensin, and hath three Regions under it, namely, the Mountaines, Tenez, and Algezer. The fourth Kingdom of Barbarie is named Tunis; under which are comprized foure Regions, that is to say, Bugia, Constantina, Tripolis in Barbarie, and Ezzaba, which is a good part of Numidia. Burgia hath alwayes beene turmoyled with continuall warres, because sometimes it was subject unto the King of Tunis, and sometimes againe unto the King of Tremizen. Certaine it is that even untill these our dayes, this Bugia was a Kingdome of it selfe, and so continued, till the principall Citie of that Region was at the commandement of Ferdinando the King of Castile, taken by one Peter of Navarre.

*Habat. *Chauz. *Tremizen.

This is the basest part of all Africa; neither will our Cosmographers vouchsafe it the name of a Kingdome, by reason that the Inhabitants thereof are so farre distant a sunder; which you may easily conjecture by that which followeth. Tesset a City of Numidia, containeth about foure hundred families, and is in regard of the Libyan Desart, severed from all places of habitation almost three hundred miles; wherefore this second part is thought by divers not to bee worthy the name of a Kingdome. Howbeit we will make some relation of the habitable parts of Numidia; some whereof may not unfitly bee compared with other Regions of Africa, as for example, that of Segelmess, which territorie of Numidia lyeth over against Barbarie; likewise Zeb, which is situate against Bugia, and the signiorie of Biledulgerid, which extendeth unto the Kingdome of Tunis. Reserving therefore many particulars for the second part of this Historie, we will make our entrie and beginning at those places, which lie upon the West of Numidia: the names whereof be these; Tesset, Guaden, Ifren, Hacca, Dare, Tabelbelt, Todga, Fercale, Segelmess, Benigumi, Fighig, Tegua, Tsabit, Tegorarin, Mesab, Tegort and Guarghela. The Region of Zeb containeth five townes, to wit, Pescara, Elborh,

[II. vi. 751.] *The division of Numidia.*

Tesset.

Nesta, Taolac and Deusin: so many Cities likewise hath the territories of Biledulgerid; namely, Teozar, Caphesa, Nefreoa, Elchamid and Chalbis: and from hence Eastward are found the Isles of Gerbe, Garion, Mesellata, Mestrata, Teoirraga, Gademis, Fizza, Augela, Birdeoa and Eloacat. These are the names of the most famous places of all Numidia, being bounded (as is said before) Westward upon the Ocean Sea, and Eastward with the River of Nilus.

A discription of the Libyan Desarts, which lie betweene Numidia and the Land of Negros.

These Desarts have not as yet any certaine name amongst us, albeit they be divided into five parts, and receive all their denomination from the inhabitants which dwell upon them, that is to say, from the Numidians, who are in like sort themselves divided into five parts also, to wit, the People or Tribes called Zanega, Ganziga, Terga, Leuta and Berdeoa. There bee likewise certaine places, which take some proper and particular name from the goodnesse and badnesse of the soile; as namely, the Desart of Azaohad, so called for the drought and unfruitfulnesse of that place: likewise Hair, albeit a Desart, yet so called for the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre.

A division of the land of Negros into severall Kingdoms.

Moreover, the land of Negros is divided into many Kingdomes: whereof albeit a great part be unknowne unto us, and remooved farre out of our trade; wee will notwithstanding make relation of those places, where wee our selves have aboad, and which by long experience are growne very familiar unto us: as likewise of some other places, from whence Merchants used to travell unto the same Cities wherein my selfe was then resident; from whom I learned right well the state of their Countries.

**John Leo travelled over fifteene Kingdomes of the land of Negros.*

I * my selfe saw fifteene Kingdomes of the Negros: howbeit there are many more, which although I saw not with mine owne eies, yet are they by the Negros sufficiently knowne and frequented. Their names therefore beginning from the West, and so proceeding Eastward and Southward) are these following: Gualata, Ghinea, Melli, Tombuto, Gago, Guber, Agadez, Cano, Casena,

A.D. c. 1526.

Zegzeg, Zanfara, Guangara, Burno, Gaoga, Nube. These fifteene Kingdomes are for the most part situate upon the River Niger, through the which Merchants usually travell from Gualata to the City of * Alcair in Ægypt. The journey indeede is very long, but yet secure and voyd of danger. All the said Kingdomes adjoyne one upon another; ten whereof are separated either by the River Niger, or by some sandie desart: and in times past each one of the fifteene had a severall King, but now * at this present, they are all in a manner subject unto three Kings onely: namely, to the King of Tombuto, who is Lord of the greatest part; to the King of Borno, who governeth the least part, and the residue is in subject on unto the King of Gaoga: howbeit, he that possesseth the Kingdome of Ducala hath a very small traine attending upon him. Likewise these Kingdomes have many other Kingdomes bordering upon the South frontiers of them: to wit, Bito, Temiam, Dauma, Medra, and Gorhan; the Governors and Inhabitants whereof, are most rich and industrious people, great lovers of Justice and equitie, albeit some leade a brutish kind of life.

*Cairo.

*About the yeere 1526.

Of the habitations of Africa, and of the signification of this word Barbar.

Our Cosmographers and Historiographers affirme, that in times past Africa was altogether disinhabited, except that part which is now called the Land of Negros: and most certaine it is, that Barbarie and Numidia were for many ages destitute of Inhabitants. The tawnie people of the said Region were called by the name of Barbar, being derived of the Verbe Barbara, which in their tongue signifieth to murmure: because the African tongue soundeth in the eares of the Arabians, no otherwise then the voyce of Beasts, which utter their sounds without any accents. Others will have Barbar to be one word twice repeated, forsomuch as Bar in the Arabian tongue signifieth a Desart. For (say they) when King Iphricus being by the Assyrians or Æthiopians driven out of his owne Kingdome, travelled towards Ægypt, and seeing himselfe so oppressed with his enemies, that he knew not what should become of him and his followers, he asked his

people how or which way it was possible to escape, who answered him Bar-Bar, that is, to the Desart, to the Desart: giving him to understand by this speech, that he could have no safer refuge, then to crosse over Nilus, and to flee unto the Desart of Africa. And this reason seemeth to agree with them, which affirme the Africans to bee descended from the people of Arabia fœlix.

[II. vi. 752.] *A division of the tawnie Moores into sundrie Tribes or Nations.*

The tawnie Moores are divided into five severall People or Tribes: to wit, the Tribes called Zanhagi, Musmudi, Zeneti, Hacari and Gumeri. The Tribe of Musmudi inhabit the Westerne part of Mount Atlas, from the Province of Hea, to the River of * Servan. Likewise they dwell upon the South part of the said Mountaine, and upon all the inward plaines of that Region. These Musmudæ have foure Provinces under them: namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula, and the Territorie of Morocco. The Tribe of Gumeri possesse certaine Mountaines of Barbarie, dwelling on the sides of those Mountaines which lie over against the Mediterran Sea: as likewise they are Lords of all the River called in their language Rif. This River hath his Fountaine neere unto the streights of Gibraltar, and thence runneth Eastwards to the Kingdome of Tremizen, called by the Latines Cæsaria. These two tribes or people have severall habitations by themselves: the other three are dispersed confusively over all Africa: howbeit, they are like strangers, discerned one from another by certaine properties or tokens, maintaining continuall warre among themselves, especially they of Numidia. Out of all which it is evident, that in times past all the foresaid people had their habitations and tents in the plaine fields: every one of which favoured their owne faction, and exercised all labours necessary for mans life, as common among them. The Governours of the Countrey attended their droves and flocks; and the Citizens applyed themselves unto some manuall Art, or to husbandry. The said people are divided into five hundred severall families, as appeareth by the Genealogies of the Africans, Author whereof is

* *Guadalbabit.*

Tremizen called by the ancient Cosmographers Cæsaria, or Mauritania Cæsariensis.

A.D. c. 1526.

one Ibnu Rachu, whom I have oftentimes read and perused. Some writers are of opinion, that the King of Tombuto, the King of Melli, and the King of Agadez fetch their originall from the people of Zanaga, to wit, from them which inhabite the Desart.

Ibnu Rachu an African Historian.

The foresaid five families or people, being divided into hundreds of progenies, and having innumerable habitations, doe notwithstanding use all one kind of language, called by them Aquel Amarig, that is, the noble tongue: the Arabians which inhabit Africa, call it a barbarous tongue; and this is the true and naturall language of the Africans. Howbeit it is altogether different from other languages, although it hath divers words common with the Arabian tongue. Yea, all the Gumeri in a manner and most of the Haoari speake Arabian, though corruptly; which (I suppose) came first hereupon to passe, for that the said people have had long acquaintance and conversation with the Arabians. The Negros have divers languages among themselves, among which they call one Sungai, and the same is current in many Regions; as namely, in Gualata, Tombuto, Ghinea, Melli and Gago. Another language there is among the Negros, which they call Guber, and this is rife among the people of Guber, of Cano, of Casena, of Perzegreg, and of Guangra. Likewise the Kingdome of Borno hath a peculiar kind of speech, altogether like unto that, which is used in Gaogo. And the Kingdome of Nube hath a language of great affinitie with the Caldean, Arabian and Ægyptian tongues. But all the Sea-townes of Africa, from the Mediterran Sea to the Mountaines of Atlas, speake broken Arabian. Except the Kingdome and Towne of Maroco, and the in-land Numidians bordering upon Maroco, Fez and Tremizen; all which, use the Barbarian tongue. Howbeit, they which dwell over against Tunis and Tripoli, speake indeede the Arabian language; albeit most corruptly.

The agreement or varietie of the African language.

Aquel Amarig. African language.

Arabike.

Sungai.

Guber.

Borno language.

Nubian.

Arabike broken.

Barbarian.

Of the Arabians inhabiting the Citie of Africa.

Of that Army which was sent by Califa * Otmen the third, in the foure hundred yeere of the Hegeira, there

**Hutmen.*

came into Africa fourescore thousand Gentlemen and others, who having subdued sundry Provinces, at length arrived in Africa: and there the Generall of the whole Army called * Hucha Hibnu Nafich remained. This man built that great City which is called of us * Alcair. For he stood in feare of the people of Tunis, lest they should betray him, misdoubting also that they would procure aide out of Sicily, and so give him the incounter. Wherefore with all his treasure which he had got, he travelled to the Desart and firme ground, distant from Carthage about one hundred and twenty miles, and there is he said to have built the City of * Alcair. The remnant of his Souldiers he commanded to keepe those places, which were most secure and fit for their defence, and willed them to build where no rocke nor fortification was. Which being done, the Arabians began to inhabit Africa, and to disperse themselves among the Africans, who, because they had beene for certaine yeeres subject unto the Romans or Italians, used to speake their language: and hence it is, that the naturall and mother-tongue of the Arabians, which hath great affinitie with the African tongue, grew by little and little to be corrupted: and so they report that these two Nations at length conjoyned themselves in one. Howbeit the Arabians usually doe blaze their Pedigree in daily and triviall Songs, which custome as yet is common both to * us, and to the people of Barbarie also. For no man there is, be he never so base, which will not to his owne name, adde the name of his Nation; as for example, Arabian, Barbarian, or such like.

** Hucha.*
**Cairaoan.*
Tunis.
** Cairaoan.*
Corruption of Language.
**The Moores of Granada.*
Of the Arabians which dwel in Tents, and their coming into Africa.

The Mahumetan Priests alwayes forbad the Arabians to passe over Nilus with their Armies and Tents. Howbeit in the foure hundred yeere of the Hegeira we reade, that they were permitted so to doe by a certaine factious and schismaticall * Califa: because one of his Nobles had rebelled against him, usurping the City of Cairaoan, and the greatest part of Barbarie. After the death of which Rebell, that Kingdome remained for some yeeres unto his

**A Mahumetane Patriarch.*
Of these Chalifa's, see my Pilgrim, lib. 3.

posteritie and family; whose jurisdiction (as the African Chronicles report) grew so large and strong in the time of Elcain (the Mahumetan Califa and Patriarch of Arabia) that hee sent unto them one Gehoar, whom of a slave he had made his Counsellor, with an huge Armie. This Gehoar conducting me his Armie Westward, recovered all Numidia and Barbarie. Insomuch that hee pierced unto the Region of Sus, and there claymed most ample Tribute: all which being done, he returned backe unto his Califa, and most faithfully surrendred unto him whatsoever hee had gained from the Enemy. The Califa seeing his prosperous successe, beganne to aspire unto greater Exploits. And Gehoar most firmely promised, that as hee had recovered the Westerne Dominion unto his Lord, so would he likewise by force of Warre most certainly restore unto him the Countries of the East, to wit, Egypt, Syria, and all Arabia; and protested moreover that with the greatest hazard of his life, he would bee avenged of all the injuries offered by the Family of Labhus unto his Lords Predecessors, and would revest him in the Royall Seate of his most famous Grand-fathers, great-grand-fathers, and Progenitors. The Califa liking well his audacious promise, caused an Armie of fourescore thousand Souldiers, with an infinite summe of money and other things necessary for the Warres, to bee delivered unto him. And so this valiant and stout Chieftaine being provided for warfare, conducted his Troupes through the Desarts of Egypt and Barbarie; and having first put to flight the Vice-Califa of Egypt (who fled unto Elvir the Califa of Bagdet) in short time he subdued very easily all the Provinces of Egypt and Syria. Howbeit he could not as yet hold himselfe secure; fearing least the Califa of Bagdet would assayle him with an Army out of Asia, and least the Garrisons which he had left to keepe Barbarie, should be constrayned to forsake those conquered Provinces. Wherefore he built a Citie, and caused it to be walled round about. In which Citie he left one of his most trustie Captaines, with a great part of the Army:

[II. vi. 753.]

Gehoar a slave by condition conquered all Barbarie, Numidia, Egypt, and Syria.

Cayro built, called Alchair. Gehoar the first founder of Cairo: all is the Arabeck Article, o the Exoticke termination.

and this Citie hee called by the name of Alchair, which afterward by others was named Cairo. This Alchair is said daily so to have increased, that no Citie of the World for buildings and Inhabitants was any way comparable thereunto.

Moreover, Califa Elcain arriving at Alchair, and beeing most honourably entertayned by his Servant Gehoar, (who had written for him to come) began to thinke upon great affaires, and having gathered an huge Armie, resolved to wage battell against the Califa of Bagdet. In the meane season he that was appointed Vice-Roy of Barbarie, compacting with the Califa of Bagdet, yeelded himselfe and all Barbarie into his hands. Which the Califa most kindly accepted, and ordayned him King over all Africa. But Califa Elcain hearing this newes at Alchair was wonderfully afflicted in minde. Howbeit there was one of his secret Counsellors a very learned and wittie man, who seeing his Lord so sad and pensive; I assure you, said he, if you please to take mine advise, that I will forth-with procure you such an Armie, as shall give you great store of money, and yet notwithstanding shall doe you good service also. The Califa beeing some-what emboldened at these speeches, asked his Counsellour how this might possibly bee brought to effect: My Lord (sayth his Counsellor) certaine it is, that the Arabians are now growne so populous, and to so great a number, that all Arabia cannot contayne them, scarcely will the yeerely increase of the ground suffice to feed their Droves, and you see with what great famine they are afflicted, and how they are destitute not onely of habitations, but even of victuals and sustenance. Wherefore if you had heretofore given them leave, they would long ere this have invaded Africa. And if you will now licence them so to do, doubt you not, but that you shall receive of them an huge Masse of Gold. This counsell could not altogether satisfie the Califa his minde: for he knew right well that the Arabians would so waste all Africa, as it should neither be profitable for himselfe, nor for his Enemies. Not-

withstanding, seeing that his Kingdome was altogether endangered, he thought it better to accept those summes of money which his Counsellour promised, and so to be revenged of his Enemie, then to lose both his Kingdome and Gold all at once. Wherefore he permitted all Arabians, which would pay him Duckats apiece, freely to enter Africa; conditionally that they would shew themselves most deadly Enemies unto the treacherous King of Barbarie. Which libertie being granted unto them, it is reported that ten Tribes or Families of Arabians, being halfe the people of Arabia Deserta, came immediately into Africa, unto whom certaine Inhabitants of Arabia Fœlix joyned themselves, insomuch that there were found amongst them about fiftie thousand persons able to beare Armes: their women, children, and cattell were almost innumerable: the Storie whereof Ibnu Rachu, the most diligent Chronicler of African Affaires (whom wee have before mentioned) setteth downe at large.

These Arabians having traversed the Desart betweene Ægypt and Barbarie, first laid siege unto Tripolis a Citie of Barbarie, which being overcome, they slue a great part of the Citizens, the residue escaping by flight. Next of all they encountred the Towne of Capes, which was by them taken and vanquished. At length they besieged Cairaoan also; howbeit the Citizens being sufficiently provided of victuals, are said to have indured the siege for eight monethes: which being expired, they were constrayned to yeeld: at what time there was nothing in Cairaoan but wofull slaughters, hideous out-cryes, and present death. This Land the Arabians divided among themselves, and began to people and inhabit the same; requiring in the meane space large Tributes of the Townes and Provinces subject unto them. And so they possessed all Africa, untill such time as one Joseph the sonne of Jeffin attayned to the Kingdome of Marocco.

Ten Tribes of Arabians invade Africa. Ibnu Rachu a famous Historiographer.

[II. vi. 754.] *King Joseph.*

This Joseph was the first King of Marocco, who endeavoured by all meanes to advance the friends and kindred of the late deceased King of Africa unto the Kingdome;

neither did hee cease untill he had expelled all the Arabians out of Cairaoan. Howbeit the Arabians possessed the Regions thereabout, giving themselves wholy to spoiles and robberies: and the friends of the said deceased King could beare rule but in certaine places only. Afterward *Mansor.* succeeded in the Kingdome of Marocco one Mansor, who was the fourth King and Prelate of that Mahumetan Sect which was called Muachedim. This man, albeit his Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers had alwayes favoured the Posteritie and friends of the foresaid deceased African King, and had restored them to their ancient dignitie; devised altogether how to oppose himselfe against them, and to usurpe all their authoritie. Wherefore making a fayned league with them, wee reade, that he provoked the Arabians against them, and so very easily overcame them. Afterward Mansor brought the greatest part of the Arabians into the Westerne Dominions of Africa; unto the better sort of whom he gave the Habitation of Duccala and Azgara, and unto the baser remnant he bequeathed the possession of Numidia. But in processe of time hee commanded the Numidian slaves to be set at libertie, and so in despight of the Arabians, hee caused them to inhabit that part of Numidia which he had allotted unto them. But as for the Arabians of Azgara and of certaine other places in Barbarie, hee brought them *A Proverbe.* all under his subjection. For the Arabians out of Desarts are like fishes without water: they had indeed often attempted to get into the Desarts; but the Mountaines of Atlas, which were then possessed by the Barbarians, hindred their passage. Neither had they libertie to passe over the Plaines, for the residue of the Barbarians were there planted. Wherefore their pride being abated, they applyed themselves unto Husbandry, having no where to repose themselves, but onely in Villages, Cottages, and Tents. And their miserie was so much the greater, in that they were constrayned yeerely to disburse unto the King of Marocco most ample Tribute. Those which inhabited Duccala, because they were an huge

multitude, easily freed themselves from all Tribute and Imposition.

A great part of the Arabians remayned still at Tunis, for that Mansor had refused to carrie them along with him: who, after the death of the said Mansor, grew to bee Lords of Tunis, and so continued, till they resigned their Government unto the people called Abu-Haf; upon condition that they should pay them halfe the Revenues thereof: and this condition hath remayned firme even untill our dayes. Howbeit, because the Arabians are increased to such innumerable swarmes, that the whole Revenues are not sufficient for them, the King of Tunis 1526. most justly alloweth some of them their duties, to the end they may make secure passage for Merchants, which indeed they performe without molestation or hurt of any. But the residue which are deprived of their pay, betake themselves wholy to robberies, thefts, slaughters, and such other monstrous outrages. For these, lurking alwayes in the Woods, no sooner see any Merchant approching, but suddenly they breake forth, depriving him of his goods and life also: insomuch that now Merchants dare not passe that way but with a Garrison of safe-conduct. And so they passe sometimes to their great inconvenience. For they are notwithstanding constrayned to give unto the foresaid Arabians, which are in pay with the King of Tunis, great summes of money: and are likewise oftentimes so in danger of Robbers, that they lose both their goods and lives.

The Arabians which inhabit Africa, are divided into three parts: one part whereof are called Cachin, the second Hilel, the third Machil. The Cachin are divided into three Nations or Tribes; to wit, the Tribes of Etheg, Sumait, and Sahid. Moreover, Etheg is divided into three Families; that is to say, the Family of Delleg, Elmuntefig, and Subair: and these are dispersed into many Regions. Hilel are derived into foure Generations; to wit, the people of Benihemir, of Rieh, of Sufien, and of Chusain. The Family of Benihemir, is divided

The Tribe Cachin.

into the Linages of Huroam, Hucben, Habrum and Mussim. The Tribe of Rieh, are distributed into the Kindreds called Deuead, Suaid, Asgeg, Elchyrith, Enedri, and Garfam; which Kindreds possesse many Dominions. Machil have three Tribes under them: to wit, Mastar, Hutmen, and Hassan. Mastar are divided into Ruchen, and Selim; Hutmen into Elhasi and Chinan; and Hassan into Deuihessen, Deuimansor, and Deuihubaidulla. Deuihessen is distinguished into the Kindreds called Dulein, Berbun, Vodein, Racmen and Hamram; Deuimansor into Hemrun, Menebbe, Husein, and Albuhusein; and lastly, Deuihubaidulla, into Garag, Hedeg, Teleb, and Geoan. All these doe in a manner possesse innumerable Regions; insomuch that to reckon them up at large, were a matter not onely difficult, but almost impossible.

Etheg. The most noble and famous Arabians were they of the Family of Etheg, unto whom Almansor gave the Regions of Duccala and of Tedles to inhabit. These Arabians even till our times have beene put to great distresse and hazard, partly by the Portugall King, and partly by the King of Fez. They have at all oportunities, if need should require, a hundred thousand Souldiers fit to beare Armes, a great part whereof are Horsemen. The Ara-

Sumait. bians called Sumait, enjoy that part of the Libyan Desart which lyeth over against the Desart of Tripoly. These make often invasions into Barbarie, for they have no places allotted them therein, but they and their Camels doe per-

[II. vi. 755.] petually remaine in the Desarts. They are able to levie fourescore thousand souldiers, the greatest part being

Sahid. footmen. Likewise the Tribe of Sahid doe inhabite the Desart of Libya: and these have had alwaies great league and familiaritie with the King of Guargala. They have such abundance of cattell, that they doe plentifully supply all the Cities of that region with flesh, and that especially in Summer-time, for all the Winter they stir not out of the Desarts. Their number is increased to about a hundred and fiftie thousand having not many Horsmen

Delleg. among them. The Tribe of Delleg possesse divers

habitations; howbeit, Cæsaria containeth the greatest part of them. Some also inhabit upon the frontiers of the Kingdom of Bugia, who are said to receive a yearely stipend from their next neighbours. But the least part of them dwell upon the field-countrey of Acdes, upon the borders of Mauritania, and upon some part of mount Atlas, being subject unto the King of Fez. The people of Elmuntefig are seated in the Province of Azgar, and are called by the later writers Elcaluth. These also pay certaine yearely tribute unto the King of Fez, being able to furnish about eight thousand Horsemen to the warres. The Kindred of Sobair doe inhabit not farre from the Kingdome of Gezeir, being many of them under the pay of the King of Tremizen, and are said to enjoy a great part of Numidia. They have more or lesse, three thousand most warlike Horsemen. They possesse likewise great abundance of Camels; for which cause they abide all Winter in the Desarts. The remnant of them occupieth the Plaine which lieth betweene Sala and Mecnes. These have huge droves of Cattell, and exercise themselves in Husbandrie, being constrained to pay some yearely tribute unto the King of Fez. They have Horsemen, who, as a man may say, are naturally framed to the warres, about foure thousand in number.

Tremizen. *Elmuntefig.* *Sobair.*

Hillel, which are also called Benihamir, dwel upon the frontiers of the Kingdome of Tremizen and Oran. These range up and downe the Desart of Tegorarin, being in pay under the King of Tremizen, and of great riches and power; insomuch that they have at all times in a readinesse for the warres sixe thousand Horsemen. The Tribe of Hurua possesse onely the borders of Mustuganim. These are savage people, giving themselves wholly to spoyles and robberies, and alienating their minds from the warres. They never come forth of the Desarts; for the people of Barbarie will neither allow them any places of habitation, nor yet any stipend at all: Horsemen they have to the number of two thousand. The Kindred of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of

Of the people of Hillel and of their habitations. *Hurua.* *Hucban.*

Melian, who receive certaine pay from the King of Tunis. They are rude and wild people, and in very deed estranged from all humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about

Habru. fifteene hundred Horsemen. The Tribe of Habru inhabit the region lying betweene Oran and Mustuganim: these exercise Husbandrie, paying yearely tribute unto the King of Tremizen, and being scarce able to make one hundred Horsemen.

Mussim. The people called Mussim, possesse those Desarts of Masila, which extend unto the Kingdome of Bugia. These likewise are given onely to theft and robberie; they take tribute both of their owne people, and of other

Rieeh. regions adjoyning unto them. The Tribe of Rieeh inhabit those desarts of Libya, which border upon Constantina. These have most ample Dominions in Numidia, being now divided into sixe parts. This right famous and warlike Nation receiveth stipend from the King of Tunis, having five thousand Horsemen at command.

Suaid. The people of Suaid enjoy that Desart, which is extended unto the Signiorie of Tenez. These have very large possessions, receiving stipend from the King of Tremizen, being men of notable dexteritie, as well in the warres, as

Azgeg. in all other conversation of life. The Kindred of Azgeg dwell not altogether in one place: for part of them inhabit the region of Garet, among the people called Hemram; and the residue possesse that part of Duccala, which lieth

Elcherit. neere unto Azaphi. The Tribe of Elcherit dwell upon that portion of Helin which is situate in the Plaine of Sahidim, having the people of Heah tributarie unto them, and being a very uncivill and barbarous people. The

Enedri. people called Enedri are seated in the Plaine of Heah: but the whole region of Heah maintaineth almost foure thousand Horsemen, which notwithstanding are unfit for

Garfa. the warres. The people of Garfa have sundry Mansions: neither have they any King or Governour. They are dispersed among other Generations, and especially among the Kindreds of Manebbi and Hemram. These convay Dates from Segelmessa to the Kingdome of Fez, and

carry backe againe from thence such things as are necessarie for Segelmess.

The people called Ruche, who are thought to be descended from Mastar, doe possesse that desart, which lieth next unto Dedes and Farcala. They have very small dominions, for which cause they are accounted no whit rich; howbeit, they are most valiant souldiers, and exceeding swift of foote; insomuch that they esteeme it a great disgrace, if one of their footemen be vanquished by two horsemen. And you shall find scarce any one man among them, which will not outgoe a very swift horse, be the journey never so long. They have about five hundred Horsemen, but most warlike Footemen, to the number of eight thousand. Selim inhabite upon the River of Dara, from whence they range up and downe the Desarts. They are endowed with great riches, carrying every yeare merchandize unto the Kingdome of Tombuto, and are thought to be in high favour with the King himselfe. A large jurisdiction they have in Darha, and great plentie of Camels: and for all opportunities of warre they have ever in a readinesse three thousand Horsemen. The Tribe of Elhasis dwelleth upon the sea-coast, neere unto Messa. They doe arme about five hundred Horsemen, and are a Nation altogether rude, and unacquainted in the warres. Some part of them inhabiteth Azgara. Those which dwell about Messa, are free from the yoke of superioritie; but the others which remaine in Azgar, are subject to the King of Fez. The Kindred of Chinan are dispersed among them, which before were called Elcaluth, and these also are subject unto the King of Fez. Very warlike people they are, and are able to set forth two thousand Horsemen. The people of Deuihessen are divided into the Kindreds of Duleim, Burbun, Vode, Denimansor, and Deuihubaidulla. Duleim are conversant in the Desarts of Libya with the African people, called Zanhaga. They have neither dominion, nor yet any stipend; wherefore they are very poore, and given to robberie: they travell unto Dara, and exchange Cattell for Dates with the inhabi-

Of the Tribe of Machil. Ruche.

Swift people.

Selim.

Traffick to Tombuto.

[II. vi. 756.]

Elhasis.

Chinan.

Deuihessen.

Duleim.

tants there. All braverie and comlinesse of apparrell they utterly neglect; and their number of fighting men is ten thousand, foure thousand being Horsemen, and the residue Footemen. The people called Burbun, possesse that part of the Libyan Desart which adjoyneth unto Sus: They are a huge multitude, neither have they any riches besides Camels. Unto them is subject the Citie of Tesset, which scarce sufficeth them for the maintenance of their Horses, being but a few. The people of Vode enjoyeth that Desart, which is situate betweene Guaden and Gualata. They beare rule over the Guadenites, and of the Duke of Gualata they receive yearely tribute, and their number is growne almost infinite: for by report, they are of abilitie to bring into the field almost threescore thousand most skilfull souldiers; notwithstanding, they have great want of Horses. The Tribe of Racmen occupie that Desart which is next unto Hacha: they have verie large possessions, and doe in the Spring-time usually travell unto Tesset; for then alwaies they have somwhat to do with the inhabitants there. Their people fit for Armes are to the number of twelve thousand, albeit they have very few Horsemen. The Nation of Hamrum inhabit the Desarts of Tagauost, exacting some tribute of the inhabitants there, and with daily incursions likewise molesting the people of Nun. Their number of souldiers is almost eight thousand.

Burbun.

Vode.

Racmen.

Hamrum.

The people descended of Deuimansor. Dehemrum.

The Generation of Dehemrum, which are said to derive their pedigree from Deuimansor, inhabit the Desart over against Segelmess, who continually wander by the Libyan Desarts as farre as Ighid. They have tributarie unto them the people of Segelmesse, of Todgatan, of Tebelbelt, and of Dara. Their soile yeeldeth such abundance of Dates, that the yearely increase thereof is sufficient to maintaine them, although they had nothing else to live on. They are of great fame in other Nations, being able to furnish for the warres about three thousand Horsemen. There dwell likewise among these certaine other Arabians of more base condition, called in their language Garfa

Esgeb; which notwithstanding have great abundance of Horses, and of all other Cattell. The people of Menebbe doe almost inhabite the very same Desart, having two Provinces of Numidia under them; to wit, Matgara, and Retebbe. These also are a most valiant Nation, being in pay under the Province of Segelmess, and being able to make about two thousand Horsmen. The Kindred of Husein, which are thought to be descended of Deuimansor, are seated upon the Mountaines of Atlas. They have in the said Mountaines a large jurisdiction, namely, divers Castles every where, and many most rich and flourishing Cities; all which, they thinke, were given them in old time by the Vice-royes of the Marini: for as soone as they had wonne that Kingdome, the Kindred of Husein affoorded them great aide and service. Their dominion is now subject unto the Kings of Fez and of Segelmess. They have a Captaine, which for the most part resideth at the Citie, commonly called Garseluin. Likewise they are alwaies in a manner, traversing of that Desart, which in their language is called Eddara. They are taken to be a most rich and honest people, being of abilitie to furnish for the warres about sixe thousand Horsemen. Among these, you shall oftentimes find many Arabians of another sort, whom they use onely to be their servants. The Tribe of Abulhusein doe inhabit part of the foresaid Desart of Eddara, howbeit a very small part; the greatest number of whom are brought unto such extreme misery, that they have not in those their wild tents sufficient sustenance to live upon.

Menebbe.

Husein.

Abulhusein.

One Generation of the people of Deuihubaidulla are those which are named Gharrag: these enjoy the Desarts of Benigomi and Fighig, having very large possessions in Numidia. They are stipendaries unto the King of Tremizen, who diligently endevoureth to bring them to peace and tranquillitie of life; for they are wholly given to theft and robberie. In Summer-time they usually repaire unto Tremizen, where they are thought for that season of the yeare to settle their abode: their Horsemen are to the

The of-spring of Deuihubaidulla.

Gharrag.

number of foure thousand, all which are most noble warriours. The Kindred of Hedeg possesse a certaine Desart neere unto Tremizen, called in their owne language Hangad. These have no stipend from any Prince, nor yet any jurisdiction at all, rapine and stealth is onely delightfull unto them; they provide onely for their family and themselves, and are able to set forth about five hundred Horsemen. The Tribe of Theleb inhabite the Plaine of * Algezer; these have often vagaries over the Desarts unto the Province of Tedgear. Unto them were subject in times past, the most famous Cities of Algezer and Tedelles: howbeit in these our dayes they were recovered againe from them by Barbarossa the Turke; which losse could not but greatly grieve and molest their King. It is reported moreover, that at the same time, the principall of the said people of Theleb were cut off. For strength and cunning in chivalrie they were inferiour to no other Nation; their Horsemen were about three thousand. The Tribe of Gehoan inhabite not all in one place: for part of them you may find among the people of Guarag, and the residue amongst the people of Hedeg; and they are unto them no otherwise then their servants, which condition they notwithstanding most patiently and willingly submit themselves unto. And here one thing is to bee noted by the way; to wit, that the two forenamed people called Schachin and Hilel, are originally Arabians of Arabia Desarta, and think themselves to be descended from Ismael, the sonne of Abraham. And those which we called Machil, came first forth of Arabia Fœlix, and derive their pedigree from Saba. Before whom the Mahumetans preferre the former, which of Ismael are called Ismaelites. And because there hath alwaies been great controversie among them, which part should bee of greater Nobilitie, they have written on both sides many Dialogues and Epigrams, whereby each man is wont to blaze the Renowne, the Vertues, Manners, and laudable Customes of his owne Nation. The ancient Arabians, which were before the times of the Ismaelites,

Hedeg.

Theleb.

**Alger.*

Algere, the nest of Sea-Hornets, a cage of unclean Birds, and place of Pirats.

[II. vi. 757.]

Gehoan.

The Arabians called Cachin and Hilel descended from Ismael, the base sonne of Abraham.

The Arabians called Machil, descended of Saba.

were called by the African Historiographers Arabi-Araba; as if a man should say, Arabians of Arabia. But those which came of Ismael, they call Arabi Mus-Araba; as if they should say, Arabians ingrafted into the land of Arabia, or Arabians accidently, because they were not originally bred and borne in Arabia. And them which afterward came into Africa, they name in their language Mustehgeme, that is, Barbarous Arabians; and that because they joyned themselves unto strangers, insomuch that not onely their speech, but their manners also are most corrupt and barbarous. These are (friendly Reader) the particulars, which for these ten yeeres my memorie could reserve, as touching the originals, and diversities of the Africans and Arabians; in all which time I remember not, that ever I read, or saw any Historie of that Nation. He that will know more, let him have recourse unto Hibnu Rachu the Historiographer before named.

The manners and customes of the African people.

Those five kinds of people before rehearsed, to wit, the people of Zenega, of Ganfiga, of Terga, of Leuta, and of Bardeoa, are called of the Latins, Numidæ: and they live all after one manner, that is to say, without all law and civilitie. Their garment is a narrow and base piece of cloth, wherewith scarce halfe their body is covered. Some of them wrap their heads in a kind of black cloth, as it were with a scarfe, such as the Turkes use, which is commonly called a Turbant. Such as will be discerned from the common sort, for Gentlemen weare a Jacket made of blew Cotton with wide sleeves. And Cotton-cloth is brought unto them by certaine Merchants from the land of Negros. They have no beasts fit to ride upon, except their Camels; unto whom Nature, betweene the bunch standing upon the hinder part of their backes and their neckes, hath allotted a place, which may fitly serve to ride upon, in stead of a saddle. Their manner of riding is most ridiculous. For sometimes they lay their legges across upon the Camels necke; and sometimes againe (having no knowledge nor regard of stirrops) they rest their feete upon a rope, which is cast over his

The people of Numidia.

Their attire.

Camels.

Riding.

shoulders. In stead of spurres, they use a truncheon of a cubites length, having at the one end thereof a Goade, wherewith they pricke onely the shoulders of their Camels. Those Camels which they use to ride upon, have a hole bored through the gristles of their nose, in the which a ring of leather is fastened, whereby as with a bit, they are more easily curbed and mastred; after which manner I have seene buffles used in Italie. For beds, they lie upon mats made of sedge and bulrushes. Their tents are covered for the most part with coarse chamlet, or with a harsh kind of Wooll, which commonly groweth upon the boughes of their Date-trees.

Beds and tents.

Wooll growing upon the Palme-tree.

Miserable diet.

As for their manner of living, it would seeme to any man incredible what hunger and scarcitie this Nation will indure. Bread they have none at all, neither use they any seething or rosting; their foode is Camels milke onely, and they desire no other dainties. For their break-fast they drinke off a great cup of Camels milke: for supper they have certaine dried flesh steeped in butter and milke, whereof each man taking his share, eateth it out of his fist. And that this their meate may not stay long undigested in their stomacks, they sup off the foresaid broth wherein their flesh was steeped: for which purpose they use the palmes of their hands as a most fit instrument framed by nature to the same end. After that, each one drinkes his cup of milke, and so their supper hath an end. These Numidians, while they have any store of milke, regard water nothing at all, which for the most part hapneth in the Spring of the yeare, all which time you shall find some among them that will neither wash their hands nor their faces. Which seemeth not altogether to be unlikely; for (as we said before) while their milke lasteth, they frequent not those places where water is common: yea, and their Camels, so long as they may feede upon grasse, will drinke no water at all. They spend their whole dayes in hunting and theeving: for all their indeavour and exercise is to drive away the Camels of their enemies; neither will they remaine above three

Naturall dish.

Slovens.

Occupation.

dayes in one place, by reason that they have not pasture any longer for the sustenance of their Camels. And albeit *Pollicy.* (as is aforesaid) they have no civilitie at all, nor any Lawes prescribed unto them; yet have they a certaine Governour or Prince placed over them, unto whom they render obedience and due honour, as unto their King. They are not only ignorant of all good learning and liberall Sciences; but are likewise altogether carelesse and destitute of vertue: insomuch that you shall find scarce one amongst them all, which is a man of judgement or counsell. And [II. vi. 758.] if any injuried partie will goe to the Law with his adver- *Judges.* sarie, hee must ride continually five or sixe daies before he can come to the speech of any judge. This Nation hath all learning and good disciplines in such contempt, *Learning.* that they will not once vouchsafe to goe out of their deserts for the study and attaining thereof: neither, if any learned man shall chance to come among them, can they love his company and conversation, in regard of their most rude and detestable behaviour. Howbeit, if they can find any judge, which can frame himselfe to live and continue among them, to him they give most large yearely allowance. Some allow their Judge a thousand ducates yearely, some more, and some lesse, according as themselves thinke good. They that will seeme to be accounted of the better sort, cover their heads (as I said before) with a piece of blacke cloth, part whereof, like a vizard or maske, reacheth downe over their faces, covering all their countenance except their eyes; and this is their daily kind of attire. And so often as they put meate into their *Manner of eating.* mouthes, they remove the said maske; which being done, they forthwith cover their mouthes againe, alleaging this fond reason: for (say they) as it is unseemely for a man, after he hath received meate into his stomacke, to vomit it out of his mouth againe, and to cast it upon the earth; even so it is an undecent part to eate meate with a mans mouth uncovered.

The women of this Nation be grosse, corpulent, and of *Their women.* a swart complexion. They are fattest upon their brest

and paps, but slender about the girdle-stead. Very civill they are, after their manner, both in speech and gestures: sometimes they will accept of a kisse; but who so tempteth them farther, putteth his owne life in hazard. For by reason of jealousie, you may see them daily one to be the death and destruction of another, and that in such savage and brutish manner, that in this case they will shew no compassion at all. And they seeme to bee more wise in this behalfe then divers of our people, for they will by no meanes match themselves unto an harlot. The liberalitie of this people hath at all times been exceeding great. And when any Travellers may passe through their drie and desart Territories, they will never repaire unto their tents, neither will they themselves travell upon the common high way. And if any Caravan, or multitude of Merchants will passe those Desarts, they are bound to pay certaine Custome unto the Prince of the said people, namely, for every Camels load, a piece of cloth worth a Ducat.

Jealousie.

Merchants.

The Authours travels.

Upon a time I remember, that travelling in the companie of certaine Merchants over the Desart, called by them Araoan, it was our chance there to meete with the Prince of Zanaga; who, after he had received his due custome, invited the said companie of Merchants, for their recreation, to goe and abide with him in his tents foure or five dayes. Howbeit, because his tents were too farre out of our way, and for that wee should have wandred farther then we thought good, esteeming it more convenient for us to hold on our direct course, we refused his gentle offer, and for his courtesie gave him great thankes. But not being satisfied therewith, he commanded that our Camels should proceede on forward, but the Merchants he carried along with him, and gave them very sumptuous entertainement at his place of abode. Where we were no sooner arrived, but this good Prince caused Camels of all kinds and Ostriches, which he had hunted and taken by the way, to bee killed for his houshold provision. Howbeit, wee requested him not to make such daily slaughters

Camels and Ostriches used for victuals.

of his Camels; affirming, moreover, that we never used to eate the flesh of a gelt Camell, but when all other victuals failed us. Whereunto hee answered, that he should deale uncivilly, if he welcommed so worthy and so seldome-seene ghests with the killing of smal Cattell onely. Wherefore hee wished us to fall to such provision as was set before us. Heere might you have seene great plenty of rosted and sodden flesh: their rosted Ostriches were brought to the Table in wicker platters, being seasoned with sundry kinds of Herbes and Spices. Their bread made of Mill and Panicke was of a most savorie and pleasant taste: and alwaies at the end of dinner or supper we had plentie of Dates, and great store of Milke served in. Yea, this bountifull and noble Prince, that he might sufficiently shew how welcome wee were unto him, would together with his Nobilitie alwaies beare us company: howbeit, we ever dined and supped apart by our selves. Moreover, hee caused certaine religious and most learned men to come unto our banquet; who, all the time wee remained with the said Prince, used not to eate any bread at all, but fed onely upon flesh and milke. Whereat we being somewhat amazed, the good Prince gently told us, that they all were borne in such places, whereas no kind of graine would grow: howbeit, that himselfe for the entertainement of strangers, had great plentie of Corne laid up in store. Wherefore he bade us to be of good cheere, saying, That he would eate onely of such things as his owne native soyle affoorded: affirming moreover, that bread was yet in use among them at their feast of Passeover, and at other feasts also, whereupon they used to offer sacrifice. And thus we remained with him for the space of two dayes; all which time, what wonderfull and magnificent cheare we had made us, would seeme incredible to report. But the third day, being desirous to take our leave, the Prince accompanied us to that place where wee overtooke our Camels and companie sent before. And this I dare most deepely take mine oath on, that we spent the said Prince ten times more, then our Custome

Princely fare.

Bread of Millet.

Religious men.

Places without graine.

Bountifull hospitalitie.

which he received came to. We thought it not amisse here to set downe this Historie, to declare in some sort the courtesie and liberalitie of the said Nation. Neither [II. vi. 759.] could the Prince aforesaid understand our language, nor we his; but all our speech to and fro was made by an interpreter. And this which we have here recorded as touching this nation, is likewise to bee understood of the other foure Nations above mentioned, which are dispersed over the residue of the Numidian Desarts.

The manners and customes of the Arabians which inhabit Africa.

The Arabians, as they have sundrie mansions and places of abode, so doe they live after a divers and sundry manner. Those which inhabite betweene Numidia and Libya leade a most miserable and distressed life, differing much in this regard from those Africans, whom we affirmed to dwell in Libya. Howbeit, they are farre more valiant then the said Africans, and use commonly to exchange Camels in the land of Negros: they have likewise great store of Horses, which in Europe they call Horses of Barbarie. They take wonderfull delight in hunting and pursuing of Deare, of wild Asses, of Ostriches, and such like. Neither is here to be omitted, that the greater part of Arabians which inhabite Numidia, are very witty and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decypher his love, his hunting, his combates, and other his worthy acts: and this is done for the most part in rime, after the Italian manner. And albeit they are most liberally minded, yet dare they not by bountifull giving make any shew of wealth; for they are daily oppressed with manifold inconveniences. They are apparelled after the Numidians fashion, saving that their women differ somewhat from the women of Numidia. Those Desarts which they doe now enjoy, were wont to be possessed by Africans: but the Arabians with their Armie invading that part of Africa, drave out the naturall Numidians, and reserved the Desarts adjoyning upon the Land of Dates, unto themselves: but the Numidians began to inhabite those Desarts which border upon the land of Negros. The Arabians which dwell betweene Mount

Arabian valour.

Where the Barbarie Horses are bred.

Arabian Poems and Verses.

Apparell.

Biledulgerid.

Atlas and the Mediterran sea, are farre wealthier then these which wee now speake of, both for costlinesse of apparrell, for good horse-meate, and for the statelinesse and beautie of their tents. Their Horses also are of better shape, and more corpulent, but not so swift as the Horses of the Numidian Desart. They exercise Husbandry, and have great increase of corne. Their droves and flockes of Cattell be innumerable, insomuch that they cannot inhabit one by another for want of pasture. They are somewhat more vile and barbarous then those which inhabit the Desarts, and yet they are not altogether destitute of liberalitie: part of them which dwel in the territory of Fez, are subject unto the King of Fez. Those which remaine in Marocco and Duccala, have continued this long time free from all exaction and tribute: but so soone as the King of Portugall began to beare rule over Azafi and Azamor, there began also among them strife and civill warre. Wherefore being assailed by the King of Portugall on the one side, and by the King of Fez on the other, and being oppressed also with extreme famine and scarcitie of that yeere, they were brought unto such misery, that they freely offered themselves as slaves unto the Portugals, submitting themselves to any man, that was willing to relieve their intolerable hunger: and by this meanes scarce one of them was left in all Duccala.

Portugals acts in Africa: see Osorius, &c.

The Arabians offer themselves slaves to any that would relieve their extreme hunger.

Moreover, those which possesse the Desarts bordering upon the Kingdomes of Tremizen and Tunis, may all of them (in regard of the rest) be called Noblemen, and Gentlemen: For their Governours receiving every yeare great revenues from the King of Tunis, divide the same afterward among their people, to the end they may avoide all discord: and by this meanes all dissention is eschewed, and peace is kept firme and inviolable among them. They have notable dexteritie and cunning, both in making of Tents, and in bringing up and keeping of Horses. In Summer-time they usually come neere unto Tunis, to the end that each man may provide himself of bread, armour, and other necessaries; all which they carrie with them

into the Desarts, remaining there the whole Winter. In the Spring of the yeare they apply themselves unto *Their hunting.* hunting, insomuch that no beast can escape their pursuite. My selfe (I remember) was once at their tents, to my no little danger and inconvenience, where I saw greater *Riches.* quantitie of Cloth, Brasse, Yron, and Copper, then a man shall oftentimes find in the most rich ware-houses of some Cities. Howbeit no trust is to be given unto them; for if occasion serve, they will play the thieves most slily and *Honesty.* cunningly; notwithstanding, they seeme to carrie some shew of civilitie. They take great delight in Poetrie, and *Poetry.* will pen most excellent verses, their language being very pure and elegant. If any worthy Poet be found among them, he is accepted by their Governours with great honor and liberalitie; neither would any man easily believe what wit and decencie is in their verses.

Women. Their women (according to the guise of that countrie) goe very gorgeously attired: they weare linnen Gownes died blacke, with exceeding wide sleeves, over which sometimes they cast a Mantle of the same colour, or of blew, the corners of which Mantle are very artificially fastened about their shoulders with a fine silver claspe. Likewise they have rings hanging at their eares, which for the most part are made of silver: they weare many rings also upon their fingers. Moreover, they usually weare about their thighes and ankles certaine scarfes and rings, after the fashion of the Africans. They cover their faces with certaine maskes, having onely two holes for their eyes to peepe out at. If any man chance to meete with them, they presently hide their faces, passing by him with silence, except it be some of their Allies or Kinsfolks; for unto them they alwaies discover their faces, neither is there any use of the said maske so long as they be in presence. These Arabians when they travell any journey (as they [II. vi. 760.] oftentimes doe) they set their women upon certaine saddles made handsomely of wicker for the same purpose, and fastned to their Camels backes, neither be they any thing too wide, but fit onely for a woman to sit in. When they

goe to the wars, each man carries his wife with him, to the end that she may cheare up her good man, and give him encouragement. Their Damsels which are unmarried, do usually paint their faces, brests, armes, hands, and fingers with a kind of counterfeit colour: which is accounted a most decent custome amongst them. But this fashion was first brought in by those Arabians, which before we called Africans, what time they began first of all to inhabite that region; for before then, they never used any false or glozing colours. The women of Barbarie use not this fond kind of painting, but contenting themselves onely with their naturall hiew, they regard not such fained ornaments: howbeit sometimes they will temper a certaine colour with hens-dung and safron, wherewithall they paint a little round spot on the bals of their cheekes, about the bredth of a French Crowne. Likewise betweene their eye-browes they make a triangle, and paint upon their chinnes a patch like unto an olive leafe. Some of them also doe paint their eye-browes: and this custome is very highly esteemed of by the Arabian Poets, and by the Gentlemen of that countrie. Howbeit, they will not use these fantasticall ornaments above two or three dayes together: all which time they will not bee seene to any of their friends, except it be to their husbands and children: for these paintings seeme to be great allurements unto lust, whereby the said women thinke themselves more trim and beautifull.

The Arabians in the Desarts neere Egypt. Their poverty.

The life of the Arabians in the Desarts betweene Barbarie and Egypt is full of miserie and calamitie: for the places where they inhabite, are barren and unpleasant. They have some store of Camels and other Cattell: howbeit, their fodder is so scarce, that they cannot well sustaine them. Neither shall you find over all the whole region any place fit to beare corne. And if in that Desart there be any villages at all, which use to husband and manure their ground; yet reape they small commoditie thereby, except it bee for plentifull increase of Dates. Their Camels and other of their Cattell, they exchange for

Dates and Corne; and so the poore Husbandmen of the foresaid villages have some small recompence for their labours: notwithstanding, how can all this satisfie the hunger of such a multitude? For you shall daily see in Sicilia great numbers of their sonnes laid to pawne; because when they have not wherewithall to pay for the Corne which they there buy, they are constrained to leave their sonnes behind them, as pledges of future payment. But the Sicilians, if their money bee not paid them at the time appointed, will chalenge the Arabians sonnes to be their slaves. Which day being once past, if any father will redeeme his child, hee must disburse thrice or foure times so much as the due debt amounteth unto: for which cause they are the most notable thieves in the whole world. If any stranger fall into their hands, depriving him of all that he hath, they presently carry him to Sicily, and there either sell or exchange him for Corne. And I think, that no Merchants durst at any time within these hundred yeares arrive for trafficks sake upon any part of their coast. For when they are to passe by with merchandize, or about any other weightie affaires, they eschew that region five hundred miles at the least. Once I remember, that I my selfe, for my better securitie, and to avoide the danger of those mischievous people, went in companie with certaine Merchants, who in three ships sailed along their coast. Wee were no sooner espied of them, but forthwith they came running to the shore, making signes that they would traffique with us to our great advantage. Howbeit, because we durst not repose any trust in them, none of our companie would depart the ship, before they had delivered certaine pledges unto us. Which being done, we bought certaine Eunuchs, or gelded men, and good store of butter of them. And so immediately weighing our ankers, we betooke us to flight, fearing lest wee should have been met withall by the Sicilian and Rhodian Pirates, and been spoiled not onely of our goods, but of our liberties also. To be short, the said Arabians are very rude, forlorne, beggerly, leane, and hunger-starved people,

The Arabians of Barca lay their sonnes to pawne unto the Sicilians for corne.

Cruell famine.

Miserable people.

having God (no doubt) alwaies displeased against them, by whose vengeance they daily sustaine such grievous calamities.

You shall find many among the Africans which live altogether a shepheards or drovers life, inhabiting upon the beginning of mount Atlas, and being dispersed here and there over the same Mountaine. They are constrained alwaies to pay tribute either to the King of the same region where they dwell, or else to the Arabians, except those onely which inhabite Temesna, who are free from all forren superioritie, and are of great power. They speake the same kind of language that other Africans doe, except some few of them which converse with the inhabitants of the Citie called Urbs (which is neere unto Tunis) who speake the Arabian tongue. Moreover, there is a certaine people inhabiting that region, which divideth Numidia from Tunis. These oftentimes wage warre against the King of Tunis himselfe, which they put in practice not many yeares since, when as the said King his sonne marching towards them from Constantina with an Armie, for the demanding of such tribute as was due unto him, fought a verie unfortunate battell. For no sooner were they advertised of the Kings sonne his approach, but forthwith they went to meete him with two thousand Horsemen, and at length vanquished and slew him at unawares, carrying home with them all the furniture, bag, and baggage, which he had brought forth. And this was done in the yeere of Mahumets Hegeira 915. From that time their Fame hath beene spred abroad in all places. Yea, many of the King of Tunis his Subjects revolted from their King unto them; insomuch that the Prince of this People is growne so puissant, that scarcely is his equall to be found in all Africa.

The overthrow and death of the King of Tunis his sonne. [II. vi. 761.]

The ancient Africans were much addicted to Idolatrie, even as certaine of the Persians are at this day; some of whom worship the Sunne, and others the Fire, for their gods. For the said Africans had in times past magnificent and most stately Temples built, and dedicated as well to

The Faith and Religion of the ancient Africans or Moores. Sunne and Fire worshipped.

the honour of the Sunne as of the Fire. In these Temples day and night they kept Fire kindled, giving diligent heed that it might not at any time be extinguished, even as we reade of the Roman Vestall Virgins: all which you may reade more fully and at large in the Persian and African Chronicles. Those Africans which inhabited Libya and Numidia, would each of them worship some certaine Planet, unto whom likewise they offered Sacrifices and Prayers. Some others of the Land of Negros worship Guighimo, that is to say, The Lord of Heaven. And this sound point of Religion was not delivered unto them by any Prophet or Teacher, but was inspired, as it were, from God himselfe. After that, they embraced the Jewish Law, wherein they are said to have continued many yeeres. Afterward they professed the Christian Religion, and continued Christians, untill such time as the Mahumetan Superstition prevailed; which came to passe in the yeere of the Hegeira 208. About which time certaine of Mahumets disciples so bewitched them with eloquent and deceivable speeches, that they allured their weake minds to consent unto their opinion; insomuch that all the Kingdomes of the Negroes adjoyning unto Libya received the Mahumetan Law. Neither is there any Region in all the Negros Land, which hath in it at this day any Christians at all. At the same time such as were found to be Jewes, Christians, or of the African Religion, were slaine every man of them. Howbeit those which dwell neere unto the Ocean Sea, are all of them very grosse Idolaters. Howbeit afterward, civill dissensions arising among them, neglecting the Law of Mahumet, they slew all the Priests and Governours of that Region. Which tumult when it came to the eares of the Mahumetan Califas, they sent an huge Armie against the said Rebels of Barbarie, to wit, those which were revolted from the Califa of Bagdet, and severely punished their misdemeanour.

No Christians among the Negroes. Wee may hold it a punishment of God for their many giddie heresies, of which Monsters Africa was fertile as well as of the naturall Donatists, Circumcellians and others (which had this good to yeeld us the learned labors of S. Aug.)

The Arrians after prevailed, the Vandals making way to Mahumet.

The letters and characters of the Africans.

The Africans used in times past none other kind of letters but the Roman letters.

Those Writers which record the Histories of the Arabians doings are all joyntly of opinion, that the Africans were wont to use onely the Latine letters. The Arabians

have no Historie* of African matters, which was not first written in Latine. They have certaine ancient Authors, who writ partly in the times of the Arrians, and partly before their times, the names of all which are cleane forgotten. But when as those which rebelled against the Califa of Bagdet (as is aforesaid) got the upper hand in Africa, they burnt all the Africans bookes. For they were of opinion, that the Africans, so long as they had any knowledge of Naturall Philosophie, or of other good Arts and Sciences, would every day more and more arrogantly contemne the Law of Mahumet. Contrariwise, some Historiographers there are which affirme, that the Africans had a kind of letters peculiar unto themselves; which notwithstanding, from the time wherein the Italians began first to inhabite Barbarie, and wherein the Christians fleeing out of Italie from the Gothes, began to subdue those Provinces of Africa, were utterly abolished and taken away. For it is likely that a People vanquished should follow the customes and the letters also of their Conquerours. And did not the same thing happen to the Persians, while the Arabians Empire stood? For certaine it is, that the Persians at the same time lost those letters which were peculiar unto their Nation; and that all their bookes, by the commandement of the Mahumetan Prelates, were burnt; least their knowledge in naturall Philosophie, or their idolatrous Religion might moove them to contemne the precepts of Mahumet. The like also (as wee shewed before) befell the Barbarians, when as the Italians and the Gothes usurped their Dominions in Barbarie; which may here (I hope) suffice the gentle Reader. Howbeit this is out of doubt, that all the Sea-Cities and Inland-Cities of Barbarie doe use Latine letters onely, whensoever they will commit any Epitaphs, or any other Verses or Prose unto posteritie. The consideration of all which former particulars hath made me to be of opinion, that the Africans in times past had their owne proper and peculiar letters, wherein they described their doings and exploits. For it is likely that the Romans, when they first subdued those

*Perhaps he meaneth the histories of Salust, Titus Livius, and others.

Science guide to Conscience.

The Mahumetan Califas caused all the bookes of the Persians to be burned.

Provinces (as Conquerours usually doe) utterly spoiled and tooke away all their letters and memorie, and established their owne letters in the stead thereof; to the end that the fame and honour of the Roman People might there onely be continued. And who knoweth not that the very same attempt was practised by the Gothes upon the stately buildings of the Romans, and by the Arabians against the Monuments of the Persians. Concerning those nine hundred yeers, wherein the Africans used the letters of the Arabians, Ibnu Rachich, a most diligent Writer of Africa, doth in his Chronicle most largely dispute; whether the Africans ever had any peculiar kind of writing or no. And at last he concludeth the affirmative part; that they had: for (sayth he) whosoever denyeth this, may as well denye, that they had a Language peculiar unto themselves. For it cannot be that any People should have a proper kind of [II. vi. 762.] Speech, and yet should use letters borrowed from other Nations, and being altogether unfit for their Mother-language.

The unpleasant and snowy places in Africa.

All the Region of Barbarie, and the Mountaines contained therein, are subject more to cold then to heat. For seldome commeth any gale of wind which bringeth not some Snow therwith. In all the said Mountaines there grow abundance of Fruits, but not so great plentie of Corne. The Inhabitants of these Mountaines live for the greatest part of the yeere upon Barley Bread. The Springs and Rivers issuing forth of the said Mountaines, representing the qualitie and taste of their native soyle, are somewhat muddie and impure, especially upon the confines of Mauritania. These Mountaines likewise are replenished with Woods and loftie Trees, and are greatly stored with Beasts of all kinds. But the little Hills and Valleys lying betweene the foresaid Mountaines and Mount Atlas are farre more commodious, and abounding with Corne. For they are moistened with Rivers springing out of Atlas, and from thence holding on their course to the Mediterran Sea. And albeit Woods are somewhat more scarce upon these Plaines, yet are they much more fruitfull, then be the

plaine Countreys situate betweene Atlas and the Ocean Sea, as namely, the Regions of Maroco, of Duccala, of Tedles, of Temesna, of Azgara, and the Countrey lying towards the Straights of Gibraltar. The Mountaines of Atlas are exceeding cold and barren, and bring forth but small store of Corne, being woody on all sides, and engendring almost all the Rivers of Africa. The Fountaines of Atlas are even in the midst of Summer extremely cold; so that if a man dippeth his hand therein for any long space, he is in great danger of losing the same. Howbeit the said Mountaines are not so cold in all places: for some parts thereof are of such milde temperature, that they may be right commodiously inhabited: yea, and sundry places thereof are well stored with inhabitants; as in the second part of this present discourse we will declare more at large. Those places which are destitute of Inhabitants be either extremely cold, as namely, the same which lie over against Mauritania: or very rough and unpleasant, to wit, those which are directly opposite to the Region of Temesna. Where notwithstanding in Summer time they may feed their great and small Cattell, but not in Winter by any meanes. For then the North wind so furiously rageth, bringing with it such abundance of Snow; that all the Cattell which till then remaine upon the said Mountaines and a great part of the People also are forced to lose their lives in regard thereof: wherefore whosoever hath any occasion to travaile that way in Winter time, chuseth rather to take his Journey betweene Mauritania and Numidia. Those Merchants which bring Dates out of Numidia for the use and service of other Nations, set forth usually upon their Journey about the end of October: and yet they are oftentimes so oppressed and overtaken with a sodaine fall of Snow, that scarcely one man among them all escapeth the danger of the tempest. For when it beginneth to snow over night, before the next morning not onely Carts and Men, but even the very Trees are so drowned and overwhelmed therein, that it is not possible to finde any mention of them. Howbeit the

The Mountaines of Atlas exceeding cold.

Most wonderfull and terrible Snowes about October and Novemb.

dead Carkasses are then found, when the Sunne hath melted the Snow.

The extreme danger of Snow which John Leo himselfe escaped.

I my selfe also, by the goodnesse of Almightie God, twice escaped the most dreadfull danger of the foresaid Snow; whereof, if it may not be tedious to the Reader, I will here in few words make relation. Upon a certaine day of the foresaid moneth of October, travelling with a great companie of Merchants towards Atlas, wee were there about the Sunne going downe weather-beaten with a most cold and snowy kind of Hayle. Here we found eleven or twelve Horse-men (Arabians to our thinking) who perswading us to leave our Carts and to goe with them, promised us a good and secure place to lodge in. For mine owne part, that I might not seeme altogether uncivill, I thought it not meet to refuse their good offer; albeit I stood in doubt lest they went about to practise some mischiefe. Wherefore I bethought my selfe to hide up a certaine summe of gold which I had as then about me. But all being readie to ride, I had no leasure to hide away my Coyne from them; whereupon I fained that I would goe ease my selfe. And so departing a while their companie, and getting me under a certaine Tree, whereof I tooke diligent notice, I buried my money betweene certaine stones and the roote of the said Tree. And then we rode on quietly till about mid-night. What time one of them thinking that he had stayed long enough for his Prey, began to utter that in words which secretly he had conceived in his mind. For he asked whether I had any money about me or no? To whom I answered, that I had left my money behind with one of them which attended the carts, and that I had then none at all about me. Howbeit they being no whit satisfied with this answer, commanded me, for all the cold weather, to strip my selfe out of mine apparell. At length when they could find no money at all, they said in jesting and scoffing wise, that they did this for no other purpose, but onely to see how strong and hardy I was, and how I could endure the cold and tempestuous season. Well, on

we rode, seeking our way as well as wee could that darke and dismall night; and anone we heard the bleating of Sheepe, conjecturing thereby, that wee were not farre distant from some habitation of people. Wherefore out of hand we directed our course thitherwards: being constrained to leade our Horses thorow thicke Woods, and over steepe and craggie Rockes, to the great hazard and perill of our lives. And at length after many labours, [II. vi. 763.] wee found Shepheards in a certaine Cave: who, having with much paines brought their Cattell in there, had kindled a lustie fire for themselves, which they were constrained, by reason of the extreme cold, daily to sit by. Who understanding our companie to be Arabians, feared at the first that we would doe them some mischiefe: but afterward being perswaded that we were driven thither by extremitie of cold, and being more secure of us, they gave us most friendly entertainment. For they set bread, flesh, and cheese before us, wherewith having ended our Suppers, we laid us along each man to sleep before the fire. All of us were as yet exceeding cold, but especially my selfe, who before with great horrour and trembling was stripped starke naked. And so we continued with the said shepheards for the space of two dayes: all which time we could not set forth, by reason of continuall Snow. But *Continuall Snow.* the third day, so soone as they saw it leave snowing, with great labour they began to remoove that Snow which lay before the doore of their Cave. Which done, they brought us to our Horses, which wee found well provided of Hay in another Cave. Being all mounted, the shepheards accompanied us some part of our way, shewing us where the Snow was of least depth, and yet even there it touched our Horse bellies. This day was so cleere, that the Sunne tooke away all the cold of the two dayes going before.

At length entring into a certaine Village neere unto Fez, wee understood, that our Carts which passed by, were overwhelmed with the Snow. Then the Arabians seeing no *Unkind kindnesse.* hope of recompence for all the paines they had taken (for they had defended our Carts from Theeves) carryed a

certaine Jew of our Companie with them as their Captive, (who had lost a great quantitie of Dates, by reason of the Snow aforesaid) to the end that he might remayne as their Prisoner, till he had satisfied for all the residue. From my selfe they tooke my Horse, and committed me unto the wide World and to Fortune. From whence, riding upon a Mule, within three daies I arrived at Fez, where I heard dolefull newes of our Merchants and Wares, that they were cast away in the Snow. Yea, they thought that I had beene destroyed with the rest; but it seemed that God would have it otherwise.

Now, having finished the Historie of mine owne misfortunes, let us returne unto that Discourse where we left. Beyond Atlas there are certaine hot and dry places moystened with very few Rivers, but those which flow out of Atlas it selfe: some of which Rivers running into the Libyan Desarts are dryed up with the Sands, but others do ingender Lakes. Neither shall you find in these Countreyes any places apt to bring forth Corne, notwithstanding they have Dates in abundance.

Rivers dryed up by sands.

There are also certaine other Trees bearing fruit, but in so small quantitie, that no increase nor gaine is to be reaped by them. You may see likewise in those parts of Numidia which border upon Libya, certaine barren hils destitute of Trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thornes and shrubs. Amongst these Mountaines you shall find no Rivers nor Springs, nor yet any waters at all, except it be in certaine Pits and Wels almost unknowne unto the Inhabitants of that Region. Moreover, in sixe or seven dayes journey they have not one drop of water, but such as is brought unto them by certaine Merchants upon Camels backs. And that especially in those places which lye upon the mayne Road from Fez to Tombuto or from Tremizen to *Agad. That journey likewise is very dangerous which is of late found out by the Merchants of our dayes from Fez to Alcair over the Desarts of Libya, were it not for an huge Lake in the way, upon the bankes whereof the Sinites and the Goranites

**Agadez.*

doe inhabit. But in the way which leadeth from Fez to Tombuto are certaine Pits environed either with the hides or bones of Camels. Neither doe the Merchants in Sommer time passe that way without great danger of their lives: for oftentimes it falleth out, when the South-wind bloweth, that all those Pits are stopped up with sand. And so the Merchants when they can find neither those Pits, nor any mention thereof, must needs perish for extreame thirst: whose carkasses are afterward found lying scattered here and there, and scorched with the heat of the Sunne. One remedie they have in this case, which is very strange: for when they are so grievously oppressed with thirst, they kill forth-with some one of their Camels, out of whose bowels they wring and expresse some quantitie of water, which water they drinke and carrie about with them, till they have either found some Pit of water, or till they pine away for thirst. In the Desart which they call Azaoad, there are as yet extant two Monuments built of Marble, upon which Marble is an Epitaph engraven, signifying that one of the said Monuments represented a most rich Merchant, and the other a Carrier or transporter of Wares. Which wealthfull Merchant bought of the Carrier a cup of water for ten thousand Ducats, and yet this precious water could suffice neither of them; for both were consumed with thirst. This Desart likewise contayneth sundry kinds of beasts, which in the fourth part of this Discourse concerning Libya, and in our Treatise of the beasts of Africa, we will discourse of more at large.

Danger by thirst.

A strange remedie used by the African Merchants to quench their thirst.

A Merchant constrayned by extreme thirst, gave ten thousand Ducates for a cup of water.

The Land of Negros is extreame hot, having some store of moysture also, by reason of the River of Niger running through the midst thereof. All places adjoyning upon Niger doe mightily abound both with Cattell and Corne. No Trees I saw there but only certaine great ones, bearing a kind of bitter fruit like unto a Chestnut, which in their Language is called Goron. Likewise in the same Regions grow Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions, and such kinde of herbs and fruits in great abundance.

[II. vi. 764.]

The fruit called Goron. Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions.

There are no Mountaines at all either in Libya or in the

Land of Negros: howbeit divers Fennes and Lakes there are; which (as men report) the inundation of Niger hath left behind it. Neither are the woods of the said Regions altogether destitute of Elephants and other strange beasts; whereof we will make relation in their due place.

What naturall impressions & motions the Aire of Africa is subject unto; and what effects ensue thereupon.

Throughout the greatest part of Barbarie stormie and cold weather begin commonly about the midst of October. But in December and January the cold groweth some-what more sharpe in all places: howbeit this happeneth in the morning onely, but so gently and remissely, that no man careth greatly to warme himselfe by the fire. February some-what mitigateth the cold of Winter, but that so inconstantly, that the weather changeth sometime five and sometime sixe times in one day. In March the North and West winds usually blow, which cause the Trees to be adorned with blossomes. In April all fruits attaine to their proper forme and shape, insomuch that Cherries are commonly ripe about the end of Aprill and the beginning of May. In the midst of May they gather their figs: and in mid-June their Grapes are ripe in many places. Likewise their Peares, their sweete Quinces, and their Damascens attayne unto sufficient ripenesse in the monethes of June and July. Their Figs of Autumne may be gathered in August; howbeit they never have so great plentie of Figs and Peaches, as in September. By the midst of August they usually begin to dry their Grapes in the Sunne, whereof they make Rasins. Which if they cannot finish in September, by reason of unseasonable weather, of their Grapes as then ungathered they use to make Wine and Must, especially in the Province of Rifa, as wee will in due place signifie more at large. In the midst of October they take in their Honey, and gather their Pomgranates and Quinces. In November they gather their Olives, not climing up with Ladders nor plucking them with their hands, according to the custome of Europe; for the Trees of Mauritania and Cæsarea are so tall, that no Ladder is long enough to reach unto the fruit. And therefore their Olives being full ripe, they climbe the

The seasons of the yeare.

Cheries ripe in Aprill.

The Olives of Africa.

Trees, beating them off the boughes with certaine long Poles, albeit they know this kind of beating to be most hurtfull unto the said Trees. Sometimes they have great plentie of Olives in Africa, and sometimes as great scarcitie: Certaine great Olive-trees there are, the Olives whereof are eaten ripe by the Inhabitants because they are not so fit for Oyle. No yeare fals out to be so unseasonable, but that they have three monethes in the spring alwayes temperate.

Pleasant spring.

They begin their spring upon the fifteenth day of February, accounting the eighteenth of May, for the end thereof: all which time they have most pleasant weather. But if from the five and twentieth of Aprill, to the fifth of May they have no raine fill, they take it as a signe of ill lucke. And the raine-water which falleth all the time aforesaid they call Naisan, that is, water blessed of God. Some store it up in Vessels, most religiously keeping it, as an holy thing. Their Summer lasteth till the sixteenth of August; all which time they have most hot and cleere weather. Except perhaps some showres of raine fall in July and August, which doe so infect the Aire, that great plague and most pestilent Fevers ensue thereupon; with which plague whosoever is infected, most hardly escapeth death. Their Autumne they reckon from the seventeenth of August to the sixteenth of November; having commonly in the monethes of August and September not such extreme heate as before. Howbeit all the time betweene the fifteenth of August and the fifteenth of September is called by them the furnace of the whole yeare, for that it bringeth Figs, Quinces, and such kind of fruits to their full maturitie. From the fifteenth of November they beginne their winter-season, continuing the same till the fourteenth day of February. So soone as Winter commeth, they begin to till their ground which lyeth in the Plaines: but upon the Mountaines they goe to plough in October. The Africans are most certainly perswaded that every yeare contayneth fortie extreme hot dayes, beginning upon the twelfth of June; and againe so many dayes extreme cold, beginning from the twelfth of December. Their Æqui-

Raine signifying plentie or scarcitie.

Forty dayes of extreme heate and forty of cold.

noctia are upon the sixteenth of March, and the sixteenth of September. For their Solstitia they account the sixteenth of June and the sixteenth of December. These rules they doe most strictly observe, as well Husbandrie and Navigation, as in searching out the houses and true places of the Planets: and these instructions, with other such like they teach their young children first of all.

The Peasants and unlearned people of Africa cunning in Astrologie. Note.

Many Countrey-people and Husbandmen there be in Africa, who knowing (as they say) never a Letter of the Booke, will notwithstanding most learnedly dispute of Astrologie, and alleage most profound reasons and arguments for themselves. But whatsoever skill they have in the Art of Astrologie, they first learned the same of the Latines: yea, they give those very names unto their Moneths which the Latines doe.

Moreover, they have extant among them a certaine great Booke divided into three Volumes, which they call, The Treasurie or Store-house of Husbandry. This Booke was then translated out of Latine into their Tongue, when Mansor was Lord of Granada. In the said Treasurie are all things contayned which may seeme in any wise to con-
[II. vi. 765.] cerne Husbandry; as namely, the changes and varietie of times, the manner of sowing, with a number of such like particulars, which (I thinke) at this day the Latine Tongue it selfe, whereout these things were first translated, doth not contayne. Whatsoever either the Africans or the Mahumetans have, which seemeth to appertaine in any wise to their Law or Religion, they make their computation thereof altogether according to the course of the Moone.

The yeare of the Arabians & Africans.

Their yeare is divided into three hundred fiftie foure dayes: for unto sixe Monethes they allot thirtie dayes, and unto the other sixe but nine and twentie; all which beeing added into one summe doe produce the number aforesaid: wherefore their yeare differeth eleven daies from the yeare of the Latines. They have at divers times Festivall Dayes and Fasts.

Windes.

About the end of Autumne, for all Winter, and a great part of the Spring they are troubled with boysterous

winds, with Haile, with terrible Thunder and Lightening: yea then it snoweth much in some places of Barbarie. The Easterne, Southerne, and South-easterne winds blowing in May and June, doe very much hurt there: for they spoyle the Corne, and hinder the fruit from comming to ripenesse. Their Corne likewise is greatly appayred by Snow, especially such as falleth in the day time, when it beginneth to flowre. Upon the Mountaynes of Atlas they divide the yeare into two parts onely: for their Winter continueth from October to Aprill; and from Aprill to October they account it Summer: neither is there any day throughout the whole yeare, wherein the tops of those Mountaines are not covered with Snow. In Numidia, the yeare runneth away very swiftly: for they reape their Corne in May, and in October they gather their Dates: but from the midst of September, they have Winter till the beginning of Januarie. But if September falleth out to be raynie, they are like to lose most part of their Dates.

The yeares divided into two seasons onely, upon the Mountaines of Atlas.

All the fields of Numidia require watering from the Rivers; but if the Mountaynes of Atlas have no raine fall upon them, the Numidian Rivers waxe dry, and so the fields are destitute of watering. October being destitute of raine, the Husbandman hath no hope to cast his seed into the ground; and he despayreth likewise, if it raine not in Aprill. But their Dates prosper more without raine, whereof the Numidians have greater plentie then of Corne. For albeit they have some store of Corne, yet can it scarcely suffice them for halfe the yeere. Howbeit, if they have good increase of Dates, they cannot want abundance of Corne, which is sold unto them by the Arabians for Dates. If in the Libyan Desarts there fall out change of weather about the midst of October; and if it continue rayning there all December, January, and some part of February, it is wonderfull what abundance of grasse and milke it bringeth forth. Then may you find divers Lakes in all places, and many Fennes throughout Libya; wherefore this is the meetest time for the Barbarie Merchants to travell to the Land of Negros. Heere all

kind of fruits grow sooner ripe, if they have moderate showers about the end of July. Moreover, the Land of Negros receiveth by raine neither any benefit, nor yet any dammage at all. For the River Niger together with the water which falleth from certaine Mountaynes doth so moysten their grounds, that no places can be devised to be more fruitfull: for that which Nilus is to Egypt, the same is Niger to the Land of Negros: for it increaseth like Nilus from the fifteenth of June the space of fortie dayes after, and for so many againe it decreaseth. And so at the increase of Niger when all places are over-flowne with water, a man may in a Barke passe over all the Land of Negros, albeit not without great perill of drowning, as in the fift part of this Treatise we will declare more at large.

The increase of the River of Niger and Nilus.

All the people of Barbarie by us before mentioned live unto sixtie five or seventie yeares of age, and few or none exceed that number. Howbeit in the foresaid Mountaynes I saw some which had lived an hundred yeares, and others which affirmed themselves to bee older; whose age was most healthfull and lustie. Yea, some you shall find heere of fourescore yeares of age, who are sufficiently strong and able to exercise Husbandy, to dresse Vines, and to serve in the Warres; insomuch that yong men are oftentimes inferiour unto them. In Numidia, that is to say, in the Land of Dates, they live a long time: howbeit they lose their Teeth very soone, and their Eyes waxe wonderfull dimme. Which infirmities are likely to be incident unto them, first because they continually feed upon Dates, the sweetnesse and naturall qualitie whereof doth by little and little pull out their Teeth: and secondly, the dust and sand, which is tossed up and downe the Ayre with Easterne windes entring into their Eyes, doth at last miserably weaken and spoile their eye-sight. The Inhabitants of Libya are of a shorter life; but those which are most strong and healthfull among them live oftentimes till they come to threescore yeares; albeit they are slender and leane of bodie.

The length and shortnesse of the Africans lives.

Teeth soone lost and Eyes decayed.

What kinds of Diseases the Africans are subject unto.

The Negros commonly live the shortest time of all the rest: howbeit they are alwayes strong and lustie, having their Teeth sound even till their dying day: yet is there no Nation under Heaven more prone to Venery; unto which vice also the Libyans and Numidians are too too much addicted. To be short, the Barbarians are the weakest people of them all.

The children, and sometimes the ancient women of this Region are subject unto baldnesse or unnaturall shedding of haire; which disease they can hardly be cured of. They are likewise oftentimes troubled with the head-ache, which usually afflicteth them without any ague joyned therewith. [II. vi. 766.] Many of them are tormented with the tooth-ache, which (as some thinke) they are the more subject unto, because immediately after hot pottage they drinke cold water. They are oftentimes vexed with extreame paine of the stomacke, which ignorantly they call, the paine of the heart. They are likewise daily molested with inward gripings and infirmities over their whole bodie, which is thought to proceed of continuall drinking of water. Yea, they are much subject unto bone-aches and gowts, by reason that they sit commonly upon the bare ground, and never weare any shooes upon their feet. Their chiefe Gentlemen and Noblemen prove gowtie oftentimes with immoderate drinking of Wine and eating of daintie meates. Some with eating of Olives, Nuts, and such course fare, are for the most part infected with the Scurvies.

Those which are of a sanguine complexion are greatly troubled with the cough, because that in the Spring-season they sit too much upon the ground. And upon Fridayes I had no small sport and recreation to goe and see them. For upon this day the people flocke to Church in great numbers to heare their Mahumetan Sermons. Now if any one in the Sermon-time fals a neezing, all the whole multitude will neeze with him for company, and so they make such a noise, that they never leave, till the Sermon be quite done; so that a man shall reape but little knowledge by any of their Sermons.

Neesing at Sermons.

A.D. c. 1526. *The French Disease.*

If any of Barbarie be infected with the Disease commonly called the French Poxe, they dye thereof for the most part, and are seldome cured. This Disease beginneth with a kinde of anguish and swelling, and at length breaketh out into Sores. Over the Mountaines of Atlas, and throughout all Numidia and Libya they scarcely know this Disease. Insomuch that oftentimes the parties infected travell forth-with into Numidia or the land of Negros, in which places the Aire is so temperate, that onely by remayning there they recover their perfect health, and returne home sound into their owne Countrey: which I saw many doe with mine owne eyes; who without the helpe of any Physician or Medicine, except the foresaid holsome aire, were restored to their former health. Not so much as the name of this malady was ever known unto the Africans, before Ferdinand the King of Castile expelled all Jewes out of Spaine; after the returne of which Jewes into Africa, certaine unhappie and lewd people lay with their Wives; and so at length the Disease spread from one to another, over the whole Region: insomuch that scarce any one Family was free from the same. Howbeit, this they were most certainly perswaded of, that the same Disease came first from Spaine; wherefore they (for want of a better name) doe call it, The Spanish Poxe. Notwithstanding at Tunis and over all Italy, it is called the French Disease. It is so called likewise in Ægypt and Syria: for there it is used as a common Proverbe of Cursing; The French Poxe take you. Amongst the Barbarians the Disease called in Latine Hernia is not so common; but in Ægypt the people are much troubled therewith. For some of the Ægyptians have their Cods oftentimes so swollen, as it is incredible to report. Which infirmitie is thought to be so common among them, because they eate so much Gumme, and Salt Cheese. Some of their children are subject unto the falling sicknesse; but when they grow to any stature, they are free from that Disease. This falling sicknesse likewise possesseth the women of Barbarie, and of the Land of Negros; who, to excuse it,

When and by what meanes the French Pox was brought into Africa.

Hernia, or the Disease called bursting or the rupture.

say that they are taken with a Spirit. In Barbarie the Plague is rife every tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth yeare, whereby great numbers of people are consumed; for they have no cure for the same, but onely to rub the Plague-sore with certaine Ointments made of Armenian Earth.

Earth of Armenia.

In Numidia they are infected with the Plague scarce once in an hundred yeares. And in the Land of Negros they know not the name of this Disease: because they never were subject thereunto.

Plague rare in Numidia.

Those Arabians which inhabit in Barbarie or upon the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, are greatly addicted unto the studie of good Arts and Sciences: and those things which concerne their Law and Religion are esteemed by them in the first place. Moreover, they have beene heretofore most studious of the Mathematikes, of Philosophie, and of Astrologie: but these Arts (as it is aforesaid) were foure hundred yeares agoe, utterly destroyed and taken away by the chiefe Professors of their Law. The Inhabitants of Cities doe most religiously observe and reverence those things which appertaine unto their Religion: yea, they honour those Doctors and Priests, of whom they learne their Law, as if they were pettie gods. Their Churches they frequent very diligently, to the end they may repeat certaine prescript and formall Praiers; most superstitiously perswading themselves that the same day wherein they make their praiers, it is not lawfull for them to wash certaine of their members, when as at other times they will wash their whole bodies.

The commendable actions and vertues of the Africans.

Mathematikes studied.

Priests honoured.

Superstitions.

Moreover those which inhabit Barbarie, are of great cunning and dexteritie for building and for Mathematicall Inventions, which a man may easily conjecture by their artificiall Workes. Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their lives: albeit certaine Latine Authors, which have written of the same Regions, are farre otherwise of opinion. Likewise they are most strong

and valiant people, especially those which dwell upon the Mountaines. They keepe their covenant most faithfully; insomuch that they had rather dye then breake promise.

[II. vi. 767.] *The Moores are a people of great fidelitie.*

Jealousie. No Nation in the World is so subject unto Jealousie; for they will rather lose their lives, then put up any disgrace in the behalfe of their women. So desirous they are of Riches and Honour, that therein no other people

Merchandise. can go beyond them. They travel in a manner over the whole World to exercise Traffike. For they are continually to be seene in Ægypt, in Æthiopia, in Arabia, Persia, India, and Turkie: and whithersoever they goe, they are most honourably esteemed of: for none of them will professe any Art, unlesse hee hath attained unto great exactnesse and perfection therein. They have alwayes beene much delighted with all kind of civilitie and modest

Gravitie. Modestie. behaviour: and it is accounted hainous among them for any man to utter in companie, any Bawdie or unseemely word. They have alwayes in mind this sentence of a grave Author; Give place to thy Superiour. If any youth in presence of his Father, his Uncle, or any other of his Kindred, doth sing or talke ought of love matters, he is deemed to be worthy of grievous punishment. Whatsoever Lad or Youth there lighteth by chance into any companie which discourseth of Love, no sooner heareth nor understandeth what their talke tendeth unto, but immediately he withdraweth himselfe from among them.

The Arabians and their Vertues. Those Arabians which dwell in Tents, that is to say, which bring up Cattell, are of a more liberall and civill disposition: to wit, they are in their kind as devout, valiant, patient, courteous, hospitall, and as honest in life and conversation as any other people. They be most faithfull observers of their word and promise: insomuch that the people, which before we said to dwell in the Mountaines, are greatly stirred up with emulation of their Vertues. Howbeit the said Mountainers, both for Learning, for Vertue, and for Religion, are thought much inferiour to the Numidians; albeit they have little or no

knowledge at all in naturall Philosophie. They are reported likewise to be most skilfull Warriours, to be valiant, and exceeding lovers and practisers of all humanitie. Also, the Moores and Arabians inhabiting Libya are somewhat civill of behaviour, being plaine dealers, void of dissimulation, favourable to Strangers, and lovers of Simplicitie.

Those which we before named white, or tawnie Moores, are most stedfast in friendship: as likewise they indifferently and favourably esteeme of other Nations: and wholy indeavour themselves in this one thing, namely, that they may leade a most pleasant and jocund life. Moreover, they maintaine most learned Professors of liberall Arts, and such men as are most devout in their Religion. Neither is there any people in all Africa that lead a more happie and honourable life.

What vices the foresaid Africans are subject unto.

Never was there any people or Nation so perfectly endued with vertue, but that they had their contrary faults and blemishes: now therefore let us consider, whether the vices of the Africans doe surpasse their vertues and good parts. Those which we named the Inhabitants of the Cities of Barbarie, are somewhat needie and covetous, being also very proud and high-minded, and wonderfully addicted unto wrath; insomuch that (according to the Proverbe) they will deeply engrave in Marble any injurie be it never so small, and will in no wise blot it out of their membrance. So rusticall they are and void of good manners, that scarcely can any stranger obtaine their familiaritie and friendship. Their wits are but meane, and they are so credulous, that they will beleeve matters impossible, which are told them. So ignorant are they of naturall Philosophie, that they imagine all the effects and operations of nature to be extraordinarie and divine.

Vindicative. *Rude.* *Credulous.*

Cholericke & quarrelsome.

They observe no certaine order of living nor of Lawes. Abounding exceedingly with choler, they speake alwayes with an angry and lowd voice. Neither shall you walke in the daytime in any of their streets, but you shall see commonly two or three of them together by the eares.

By nature they are a vile and base people, being no better accounted of by their Governours then if they were Dogges. They have neither Judges nor Lawyers, by whose wisdome and counsell they ought to be directed. They are utterly unskilfull in Trades of Merchandize, being destitute of Bankers Money-changers: wherefore a Merchant can doe nothing among them in his absence, but is himselfe constrayned to goe in person, whithersoever his Wares are carryed. No people under Heaven are more addicted unto *Covetous.* covetise then this Nation: neither is there (I thinke) to be found among them one of an hundred, who for courtesie, humanitie, or devotions sake, will vouchsafe any entertainment upon a stranger. Mindfull they have alwayes *Ingratefull.* beene of injuries, but most forgetfull of benefits. Their mindes are perpetually possessed with vexation and strife, so that they will seldome or never shew themselves tractable to any man; the cause whereof is supposed to be; for that they are so greedily addicted unto their filthy lucre, that they never could attayne unto any kind of civilitie or good behaviour.

Shepheards. The Shepheards of that Region live a miserable, toylsome, wretched and beggerly life: they are a rude people, and (as a man may say) borne and bred to theft, deceit, and brutish manners. Their young men may goe a wooing to divers Maides, till such time as they have sped *Mariages.* of a wife. Yea, the father of the Maide most friendly welcommeth her Suiter; so that I thinke scarce any Noble or Gentleman among them can chuse a Virgine for his [II. vi. 768.] Spouse: albeit, so soone as any woman is married, she is quite forsaken of all her Suiters; who then seeke out other new Paramours for their liking. Concerning their *Irreligion.* Religion, the greater part of these people are neither Mahumetans, Jewes, nor Christians; and hardly shall you find so much as a sparke of Pietie in any of them. They have no Churches at all, nor any kind of Prayers, but being utterly estranged from all godly devotion, they leade a savage and beastly life: and if any man chanceth to bee of a better disposition (because they have no Law-givers nor

Teachers among them) hee is constrained to follow the example of other mens lives and manners.

All the Numidians being most ignorant of Naturall, Domesticall, and Common-wealth matters, are principally addicted unto Treason, Trecherie, Murther, Theft and Robberie. This Nation, because it is most slavish, will right gladly accept of any service among the Barbarians, be it never so vile or contemptible. For some will take upon them to be Dung-farmers, others to be Scullions, some others to be Ostlers, and such like servile Occupations. Likewise the Inhabitants of Libya live a brutish kind of life; who neglecting all kinds of good Arts and Sciences, doe wholy apply their minds unto theft and violence. Never as yet had they any Religion, any Lawes, or any good forme of living; but alwaies had, and ever will have a most miserable and distressed life. There cannot any trechery or villanie be invented so damnable, which for lucres sake they dare not attempt. They spend all their dayes either in most lewd practices, or in hunting, or else in warfare; neither weare they any shooes nor garments. The Negros likewise leade a beastly kind of life, being utterly destitute of the use of reason, of dexteritie of wit, and of all Arts. Yea, they so behave themselves, as if they had continually lived in a Forrest among wild beasts. They have great swarmes of Harlots among them; whereupon a man may easily conjecture their manner of living; except their conversation perhaps bee somewhat more tolerable, who dwell in the principall Townes and Cities: for it is like that they are somewhat more addicted to Civilitie. *Robberie.*

§. II. [II. vi. 769.]

Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his second Booke of the Historie of Africa.

BEginning at the West part of Africa, we will in this our Geographical Historie proceed Eastward, till we come to the borders of Ægypt. *The Region of Hea lying upon the West part of Africa.*

Hea being one of the Provinces of Maroco is bounded

Westward and Northward with the maine Ocean, Southward with the Mountaines of Atlas, and Eastward with the River which they call Esfivalo. This River springeth out of the foresaid Mountaine, discharging it selfe at length into the River of Tensift, and dividing Hea from the Province next adjacent.

The Region of Hea is an uneven and rough soile, full of rockie Mountaines, shadie Woods, and Christall Streames in all places; being wonderfully rich, and well stored with Inhabitants. They have in the said Region great abundance of Goats and Asses, but not such plentie of Sheep, Oxen, and Horses. All kind of Fruits are very scarce among them.

Their Food. This People for the most part eateth Barly-bread unleavened, which is like rather unto a Cake, then to a Loafe: this Bread is baked in a kind of earthen Baking-pan.

Their Attire. The greatest part of them are clad in a kind of cloth Garment made of Wooll after the manner of a Coverlet, called in their Language, Elchise, and not unlike unto those Coverlets or Blankets which the Italians lay upon their Beds. In these kind of Mantles they wrap themselves; and then are they girt with a woollen girdle, not about their waste, but about their hips. You may easily discerne which of them is married, and who is not: for an unmarried man must alwayes keepe his Beard shaven, which, after hee bee once married, hee suffereth to grow at length. The said Region bringeth forth no great plentie of Horses, but those that it doth bring forth, are so nimble and full of mettall, that they will climbe like Cats over the steep and craggie Mountaines. These Horses are alwayes unshod: and the People of this Region use to till their ground with no other Cattell, but onely with Horses and Asses. You shall here find great store of Deere, of wild Goats, and of Hares. No good learning nor liberall Arts are here to be found; except it be a little skill in the Lawes, which some few challenge unto themselves: otherwise you shall find not

Horses and other Beasts.

so much as any shadow of vertue among them. They have neither Physician nor Surgeon of any learning or account. But if a disease or infirmitie befall any of them, they presently seare or cauterize the sicke partie with red hot Irons, even as the Italians use their Horses. Howbeit some Chyrurgians there are among them, whose dutie and occupation consisteth onely in circumcising of their male Children. Whosoever will travell into a forraine Countrey must take either a Harlot, or a Wife, or a religious man of the contrary part, to beare him companie. They have no regard at all of Justice. *Cauterizing.*

The ancient Citie of Tednest was built by the Africans upon a most beautifull and large Plaine, which they invironed with a loftie Wall built of Bricke and Lime. In this Citie there are no Innes, Stoves, nor Wine-taverns: so that whatsoever Merchant goes thither, must seeke out some of his acquaintance to remaine withall: but if hee hath no friends nor acquaintance in the Towne, then the principall Inhabitants there cast lots who should entertaine the strange Merchant: insomuch that no Stranger, be he never so meane, shall want friendly entertainment, but is alwaies sumptuously and honourably accepted of. But whosoever is received as a Guest, must at his departure bestow some gift upon his Host in token of thankfulnesse, to the end hee may be more welcome at his next returne. Howbeit if the said Stranger be no Merchant, hee may chuse what great mans house he will to lodge in, being bound at his departure to no recompence nor gift. To be short, if any Beggar or poore Pilgrim passe the same way, he hath some sustenance provided for him in a certaine Hospitall, which was founded onely for the reliefe of poore people, and is maintained at the common charge of the Citie. In the middest of the Citie stands an ancient Temple, being most sumptuously built, and of an huge bignesse, which was thought to be founded at the very same time when as the King of Maroco bare rule in those places. This Temple hath a great Cisterne standing in the midst thereof, and it hath many Priests and such kind *Tednest one of the Cities of Hea.* *Their manner of entertaining Strangers at Tednest.* *Their Temple.*

of People which give attendance thereunto, and store it with things necessarie. In this Citie likewise are divers other Temples, which, albeit they are but little, yet be they most cleanly and decently kept. There are in this Citie about an hundred Families of Jewes. My selfe saw this Citie utterly ruined and defaced, the Walls thereof being laid even with the ground, the Houses being destitute of Inhabitants, and nothing at that time to be there seene, but onely the nests of Ravens and of other Birds. All this I saw in the 920. yeere of the Hegeira.

Tednest forsaken for feare of the Portugals.

Upon the foot of an hill eighteene miles Eastward from Tednest, stands a Towne called by the Africans Teculeth, and containing about one thousand Housholds. Here also is to be seene a most stately and beautifull Temple; as likewise foure Hospitals, and a Monasterie of Religious persons. The Inhabitants of this Towne are farre wealthier then they of Tednest: for they have a most famous Port upon the Ocean Sea, commonly called by Merchants, Goz. They have likewise great abundance of Corne and Pulse, which grow in the fruitfull fields adjacent. It was destroyed by the Portugals, 1514.

Teculeth a Towne of Hea.

The Citie of Hadecchis being situate upon a Plaine, standeth eight miles Southward of Teculeth: it containeth seven hundred Families: and the Walls, Churches, and Houses throughout this whole Citie are all built of Free-stone. They have certaine yeerely Faires or Marts, wherunto the Nations adjoyning doe usually resort. Here is to bee sold great store of Cattell, of Butter, Oyle, Iron, and Cloth; and their said Mart lasteth fifteene dayes. Their Women are very beautifull, white of colour, fat, comely, and trim. But the Men beare a most savage mind, being so extremely possessed with jealousie, that whomsoever they find but talking with their Wives, they presently goe about to murther them. They have no Judges nor learned men among them, nor any which can assigne unto the Citizens any Functions and Magistracies according to their worthinesse: so that he rules like a King that excelleth the residue in wealth. For matters of

Hadecchis a Towne of Hea.

[II. vi. 770.]

Religion, they have certaine Mahumetan Priests. Who neither pay Tribute nor yeerely Custome, even as they whom we last before mentioned. Here I was entertained by a certaine courteous and liberall minded Priest, who was exceedingly delighted with Arabian Poetrie. From hence I travelled unto Maroco. And afterward I heard that this Towne also, in the yeere of the Hegeira 922. was sacked by the Portugals; and that the Inhabitants were all fled into the next Mountaines.

Hadecchis sacked by the Portugals, 1513.

This Towne is situate upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine which is distant eight miles to the South of Hadecchis: it consisteth of about two hundred Families. They are at continuall war with their neighbours, which is performed with such monstrous bloud-shed and manslaughter, that they deserve rather the name of Beasts then of Men. They have neither Judges, Priests, nor Lawyers, to prescribe any forme of living among them, or to governe their Common-wealth: wherefore justice and honestie is quite banished out of their habitations. Those Mountaines are altogether destitute of Fruits: howbeit they abound greatly with Honie, which serveth the Inhabitants both for Food, and for Merchandize to sell in the neighbour-Countries. And because they know not what service to put their Waxe unto, they cast it forth, together with the other excrements of Honie. No People under Heaven can be more wicked, treacherous, or lewdly addicted, then this People is.

Ileusugaghen a Towne of Hea.

Barbarisme.

Wax cast away by dull ignorance.

The Towne Tesegdelt being situate upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, and naturally environed with an high Rocke in stead of a Wall, containeth more then eight hundred Families. It is distant from Teijeut Southward about twelve miles, and it hath a River running by it, the name whereof I have forgotten. About this Towne of Tesegdelt are most pleasant Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of Trees, and especially with Walnut-trees. The Inhabitants are wealthie, having great abundance of Horses, neither are they constrained to pay any Tribute unto the Arabians. There are continuall

Tesegdelt a Towne of Hea.

Teijeut destroied by the Portugals, 1513. ten miles West off Ileusugagen.

Warres betweene the Arabians and them, and that with great bloud-shed and man-slaughter on both parts. The Villages lying neere unto Tesegdelt doe usually carrie all their Graine thither, lest they should be deprived thereof by the Enemie, who maketh daily inrodes and invasions upon them. The Inhabitants of the foresaid Towne are much addicted unto curtesie and civilitie; and for liberalitie and bountie unto Strangers, they will suffer themselves to be inferiour to none other. At every Gate of Tesegdelt stand certaine Watch-men or Warders, which doe most lovingly receive all In-commers, enquiring of them, whether they have any friends and acquaintance in the Towne, or no? If they have none, then are they conducted to one of the best Innes of the Towne, and having had entertainment there, according to their degree and place, they are friendly dismissed: and whatsoever his expences come to, the Stranger payes nought at all, but his charges are defrayed out of the common Purse. This People of Tesegdelt are subject also unto jealousie: howbeit they are most faithfull keepers of their promise. In the very midst of the Towne stands a most beautifull and stately Temple, whereunto belong a certaine number of Mahumetan Priests.

The curtesie of the Citizens of Tesegdelt towards Strangers.

A Description of the Citie of Tagtess.

The most ancient Citie of Tagtess is built round, and standeth upon the top of an Hill: on the sides whereof are certaine winding steps hewen out of the hard Rocke. It is about fourteene miles distant from Tesegdelt. By the foot of the said Hill runnes a River, whereout the Women of Tagtess draw their water, neither have the Citizens any other drinke: and although this River be almost sixe miles from Tagtess, yet a man would thinke, looking downe from the Citie upon it, that it were but halfe a mile distant. The way leading unto the said River being cut out of the Rocke, in forme of a paire of Staires, is very narrow. While I was in that Countrey, there came such a swarme of Locusts, that they devoured the greatest part of their Cornes which were as then ripe: insomuch that all the upper part of the ground was covered

Water farre fetched.

Locusts.

with Locusts. Which was in the yeere of the Hegeira 919. that is, in the yeere of our Lord 1510.

The Towne of Eitdeuet.

Fifteene miles Southward from Tagtess stands another Towne called Eitdeuet. In the said Towne are Jewes of all Occupations: and some there are which affirme, that the first Inhabitants of this Towne came by naturall descent from King David: but so soone as the Mahumetan Religion had infected that place, their owne Law and Religion ceased. Here are great store of most cunning Lawyers, which are perfectly well seene in the Lawes and constitutions of that Nation: for, I my selfe saw a very aged man, who could most readily repeat a whole Volume written in their Language, called by them Elmudevuana, that is to say, the Bodie of the whole Law. The said Volume is divided into three Tomes, wherein all difficult questions are dissolved: together with certaine Counsels or Commentaries of a famous Author, which they call Melic.

Jewes.

Lawyers.

Learned Men.

Law-bookes.

[II. vi. 771.]

Culeihat Elmuridin, that is to say, The Rock of Disciples, a Castle of Hea.

This Culeihat Elmuridin is a Castle built upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, having round about it divers other Mountaines of a like heighth, which are environed with craggie Rocks and huge Woods. There is no passage unto this Castle, but onely a certaine narrow path upon one side of the Mountaine. By the one side thereof stands a Rocke, and upon the other-side the Mountaine of Tesegdelt is within halfe a mile, and it is distant from Eitdeuet almost eighteene miles. This Castle was built even in our time by a certaine Apostata, or renouncer of the Mahumetan religion, called by them Homar Seijef; who being first a Mahumetan Preacher unto the people, propounded unto a great number of Disciples and Sectaries, whom hee had drawn to be of his opinion, certain new points of religion. This fellow seeing that he prevailed so with his Disciples, that they esteemed him for some petty-god, became of a false Preacher a most cruell tyrant, and his government lasted for twelve yeares. Hee was the chiefe cause of the destruction and ruine of the whole Province. At length he was slaine by his owne

A pestiferous Mahumetan Preacher.

wife, because he had unlawfully lien with her daughter which she had by her former husband. And then was his perverse and lewd dealing laid open unto all men: for hee is reported to have been utterly ignorant of the lawes, and of all good knowledge. Wherefore not long after his decease, all the inhabitants of the region gathering their forces together, slew every one of his Disciples and false Sectaries. Howbeit, the Nephew of the said Apostata was left alive; who afterward in the same Castle endured a whole yeares siege of his adversaries, and repelled them, insomuch that they were constrained to depart. Yea, even untill this day he molesteth the people of Hea, and those which inhabite neere unto him, with continuall warre, living upon robberie and spoile; for which purpose he hath certaine Horsemen, which are appointed to watch and to pursue travellers, sometimes taking Cattell, and sometimes men captives. He hath likewise certaine Gunners, who, although travellers be a good distance off (for the common high-way standeth almost a mile from the Castle) will put them in great feare. Howbeit, all people doe so deadly hate him, that they will not suffer him to till one foote of ground, or to beare any dominion without the said Mountaine. This man hath caused his Grandfathers body to be honourably buried in his Castle, suffering him to be adored of his people, as if he were a God. Passing by that way upon a certaine time, I escaped their very bullets narrowly.

Igilingil and Tefethne are here omitted for brevitie.

The Inhabitants of the Mountaines in Hea.

The greatest part of the people of Hea dwelleth upon mountaines, some whereof being called Ideuacal (for so are they named) inhabite upon that part of Atlas, which stretcheth it selfe from the Ocean Sea Eastward, as farre as Igilingigil; and this ridge of mountaines divideth Hea from Sus. The breadth of this mountaine is three dayes journey. It is replenished with inhabitants and country Villages. Their ordinarie food is Barly, Goates-flesh, and Hony. Shirts they weare none at all, nor yet any other garments which are sowne together; for there is no man among them which knoweth how to use the needle: but

Needles not used.

such apparell as they have, hangeth by a knot upon their shoulders. Their women weare silver rings upon their eares, some three, and some more. They have silver buttons of so great a scantling, that each one weigheth an ounce, wherewith they fasten their apparell upon their shoulders, to the end it may not fall off. The nobler and richer sort of people among them weare silver rings upon their fingers and leggs: but such as are poore, weare rings only of iron or of copper. There are likewise certaine Horses in this Region, being so smal of stature and so swift, as it is wonderfull. Here may you find great plentie of wild Goats, Hares, & Deere, and yet none of the people are delighted in hunting. Many fountaines are here to be found, and great abundance of trees, but especially of Walnut-trees. The greater part of this people liveth after the Arabians manner, often changing their places of habitation. A kind of Daggers they use, which are broad and crooked like a wood-knife; and their Swords are as thicke as Sithes, wherewith they mow Hay. When they goe to the warres, they carrie three or foure hunting Toyles with them. In all the said mountaine are neither Judges, Priests, or Temples to be found. So ignorant they are of learning, that not one among them either loveth, or embraceth the same. They are all most lewd and wicked people, and apply their minds unto all kind of villanie. It was told the Seriffo in my presence, that the foresaid mountaine was able to affoord twentie thousand souldiers for a neede.

Rings and Buttons.

This mountaine also is a part of Atlas, beginning from the mountaine last before mentioned, and extending it selfe Eastward for the space of about fiftie miles, as farre as the mountaine of Nifif, in the Territorie of Maroco; and it divideth a good part of Hea from the Region of Sus before named. It aboundeth with inhabitants, which are of a most barbarous and savage disposition. Horses they have great plentie: they goe to warre oftentimes with the Arabians which border upon them; neither will they permit any of the said Arabians to come within their

The Mountaine called Demensera.

Dominions. There are no Townes nor Castles upon all this mountaine: howbeit, they have certaine Villages and Cottages, wherein the better sort doe hide their heads. Great store of Noblemen or Governours they have in all places, unto whom the residue are very obedient. Their ground yeeldeth Barly and Mill in abundance. They have everie where many fountaines, which being dispersed over the whole Province, doe at length issue into that River, which is called in their language Siffaia. Their apparell is somewhat decent: also they possesse great quantitie of Iron, which is from thence transported into other places; and these people are well given to thrift and good husbandrie. Great numbers of Jewes remaine in this Region, which live as stipendarie souldiers under divers Princes, and are continually in Armes; and they are reputed and called by other Jewes in Africa, Carraum; that is to say, Heretikes. They have store of Boxe, of Mastick, and of high Walnut-trees. Unto their Argans (for so they call a kind of Olives which they have) they put nuts; out of which two simples they expresse very bitter Oyle, using it for a sauce to some of their meates, and powring it into their lampes. I heard divers of their principall men avouch, that they were able to bring into the field five and twenty thousand most expert souldiers.

Plenty of Iron. [II. vi. 772.]

Store of Jewes.

Carraum, that is, Scripture-men; for they admitted not the traditions.

Of the Mountaine of Iron, commonly called Gebel-elhadith.

This mountaine is not to be accounted any part of Atlas: for it beginneth Northward from the Ocean, and Southward it extendeth to the River of Tensift, and divideth Hea from Duccala and Maroco. The inhabitants are called Regraga. Upon this hill are waste Desarts, cleare Fountaines, and abundance of hony, and of Oyle Arganick, but of Corne and Pulse great scarcitie, unlesse they make provision thereof out of Duccala. Few rich men are here to bee found, but they are all most devout and religious after their manner. Upon the top of this mountaine are many Hermites, which live onely upon the fruites of certaine trees, and drinke water. They are a most faithfull and peaceable Nation. Whosoever among them is apprehended for theft or any other crime, is forth-

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

with banished the countrey for certaine yeares. So great is their simplicitie, that whatsoever they see the Hermites doe, they esteeme it as a miracle. They are much oppressed with the often invasions of their neighbours the Arabians; wherefore this quiet Nation choose rather to pay yearely tribute, then to maintaine warre.

The Region of Sus.

Now comes the Region of Sus to be considered of, being situate beyond Atlas, over against the Territorie of Hea, that is to say, in the extreme part of Africa. Westward it beginneth from the Ocean Sea, and Southward from the Sandie Desarts: on the North it is bounded with the utmost Towne of Hea; and on the East with that mightie River whereof the whole Region is named. Wherefore beginning from the West, we will describe all those Cities and places which shall seeme to be worthy of memorie.

Of the Towne of Messa.

Three small Townes were built by the ancient Africans upon the Sea shoare (each being a mile distant from other) in that very place where Atlas takes his beginning: all which three are called by one onely name, to wit, Messa; and are invironed with a wall built of white stones. Through these three runneth a certaine great River, called Sus, in their language: this River in Summer is so destitute of water, that a man may easily without perill passe over it on foote; but it is not so in the Winter-time. They have then certaine small barkes, which are not meete to saile upon this River. The place where the foresaid three Townes are situate, aboundeth greatly with Palme trees, neither have they in a manner any other wealth; and yet their Dates are but of small worth, because they will not last above one yeare. All the inhabitants exercise husbandry, especially in the moneths of September and Aprill, what time their River encreaseth. And in May their Corne groweth to ripenesse. But if in the two foresaid moneths the River encreaseth not according to the wonted manner, their harvest is then nothing worth. Cattell are very scarce among them. Not farre from the sea-side they have a Temple, which they greatly esteeme

Dates which will last but one yeare.

Holy Temple.

and honour. Out of which, Historiographers say, that the same Prophet, of whom their great Mahumet foretold, should proceed. Yea, some there are which sticke not to affirme, that the Prophet Jonas was cast forth by the Whale upon the shoare of Messa, when he was sent to preach unto the Ninivites. The rafters and beames of the said Temple are of Whales bone. And it is a usuall thing amongst them, to see Whales of an huge and monstrous bignesse cast up dead upon their shoare, which by reason of their hugenesse and strange deformitie, may terrifie and astonish the beholders. The common people imagine, that, by reason of a certaine secret power and vertue infused from heaven by God upon the said temple, each Whale which would swim past it, can by no meanes escape death. Which opinion had almost perswaded me, especially when at my being there, I my selfe saw a mighty Whale cast up, unlesse a certaine Jew had told me, that it was no such strange matter: for (quoth he) there lie certaine rockes two miles into the Sea on either side, and as the Sea moves, so the Whales move also; and if they chance to light upon a rocke, they are easily wounded to death, and so are cast upon the next shoare. This reason more prevailed with me, then the opinion of the people. My selfe (I remember being in this Region at the same time when my Lord the Seriffo bare rule over it,) was invited by a certaine Gentleman, and was by him conducted into a Garden, where he shewed me a Whales rib of so great a size, that lying upon the ground with the convexe or bowing side upward, in manner of an arch, it resembled a gate, the hollow or inward part whereof aloft we could not touch with our heads, as we rode upon our Camels backs: this rib (he said) had laine there above an hundred yeares, and was kept as a miracle. Here may you find upon the sea-shore great store of Amber, which the Portugal and Fessan Merchants fetch from thence for a verie meane price: for they scarcely pay a Duckat for a whole ounce of most choice and excellent Amber. Amber (as some thinke) is made of Whales dung, and (as others

Great store of Whales.

Superstitious conceit.

A Whales Rib of incredible greatnesse.

Amber.

suppose) of their Sperma or Seede, which being consolidate and hardned by the Sea, is cast upon the next shoare.

Teijeut containeth foure thousand families, and standeth not farre from the River of Sus. The soyle [II. vi. 773.] adjacent is most fruitfull for graine, for Barly, and for all kind of Pulse. They have here likewise a good quantitie of Sugar growing; howbeit, because they know not how *Store of Sugar.* to presse, boyle, and trim it, they cannot have it but blacke and unsavorie: wherefore so much as they can spare, they sell unto the Merchants of Maroco, of Fez, and of the land of Negros. Of Dates likewise they have plentie; neither use they any mony besides the Gold which is digged out of their own native soile. The women weare upon their heads a piece of cloth worth a duckat. Silver they have none, but such as their women adorne themselves with. The least Iron-coine used amongst them, weigheth *Iron Coyne.* almost an ounce. No fruites take plentifully upon their soile but onely Figgs, Grapes, Peaches, and Dates. Here is that excellent Leather dressed, which is called Leather *Cordovan Leather of Maroco.* of Maroco; twelve hides whereof are here sold for sixe Duckats, and at Fez for eight. That part of this Region which lieth toward Atlas hath many Villages, Townes, and Hamlets: but the South part thereof is utterly destitute of inhabitants, and subject to the Arabians, which border upon it. In the midst of this Citie standeth a faire and stately Temple, which they call The greatest, and The *A Temple through which a River runneth.* chiefest, through the verie midst whereof they have caused a part of the foresaid River to runne. The inhabitants are sterne and uncivill, being so continually exercised in warres, that they have not one day of quiet. Each part of the Citie hath a severall Captaine and Governour, who all of them together doe rule the Common-wealth: but their authoritie continueth never above three moneths, which being expired, three other are chosen in their roome.

The Towne of Tarodant built by the ancient Africans, *Tarodant, a Towne of Sus.* containeth about three thousand housholds. For when the Family of Marin governed at Fez, part of them also inhabited Sus, and in those dayes Sus was the seate of the

King of Fez his Vice-roy. All authoritie is committed unto their Noble, or principall men, who governe foure by foure, sixe moneths onely.

Tedsi, a Towne of Sus. Tedsi being a very great Towne, and built many yeares agoe in a most pleasant and fertile place by the Africans, containeth moe then foure thousand families: it is distant from Tarodant Eastward thirtie miles, from the Ocean sea sixtie miles, and from Atlas twentie. Here groweth great *Store of Sugar and of Woad.* abundance of Corne, of Sugar, and of wild Woad. You shall find in this Citie many Merchants, which come out of the land of Negros for trafficks sake. The Citizens are great lovers of peace, and of all civilitie: and they have a flourishing Common-wealth. The whole Citie is governed by sixe Magistrates which are chosen by lots: howbeit, their government lasteth for sixteene moneths onely. The River of Sus is distant three miles from hence. Here dwell many Jewes, which are most cunning Gold-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Artificers. They have a very stately Temple, and many Priests and Doctors of the Law, which are maintained at the publike charge. Every Mundy great numbers of Arabians both of the Plaines, and of the Mountaines come hither to Market.

The Citie of Tagauost. In all Sus there is no Citie comparable unto that which is commonly called Tagauost, for it containeth above eight thousand housholds; the wall thereof is built of rough stones. From the Ocean it is distant about threescore miles, and about fiftie miles Southward of Atlas: and the report is, that the Africans built this Citie. About ten miles from this place lieth the River of Sus: here are great store of Artificers and of shops, and the people of Tagauost are divided into three parts. They have continuall civill warres among themselves, and one part have the Arabians alwaies on their side; who for better pay will take part sometime with one side, and sometime with the contrarie. Of Corne and Cattell here is great abundance; but their Wooll is exceeding course. In this Citie are made certaine kinds of apparell, which are usually carried for merchandize once a yeere to Tombuto, to Gualata, and

to other places in the land of Negros. Their Market is twice every weeke: their attire is somewhat decent and comely: their women are beautifull: but their men are of a tawnie and swart colour, by reason they are descended of blacke fathers, and white mothers.

The Mountaine of Hanchisa.

The Mountaine Hanchisa beginneth Westward from Atlas, and from thence stretcheth almost fortie mile as Eastward. The inhabitants of this Mountaine are such valiant foot-men, that one of them will encounter two Horsemen. The soile will yeeld no Corne at all but Barly; howbeit hony there is in great abundance. With snow they are almost at all times troubled: but how patiently and strongly they can endure the cold, a man may easily ghesse, for that the whole yeare throughout they weare one single garment onely.

The Mountaine of Ilalem.

The Mountaine Ilalem beginneth Westward from the Mountaine aforesaid; on the East it abutteth upon the region of Guzula, and Southward upon the Plaines of Sus. The inhabitants are valiant, having great store of Horses. They are at continuall warre among themselves for certaine Silver mines; so that those which have the better hand, digge as much Silver as they can, and distribute to every man his portion, untill such time as they bee restrained from digging by others.

Mines of Silver.

The situation and estate of the Region of Maroco.

The region of Maroco beginneth Westward from the Mountaine of Nefisa, stretching Eastward to the Mountaine of Hadimei, and Northward even to that place where the most famous Rivers of Tensift and Asfinual meete together, that is to say, upon the East-border of Hea. This region is in a manner three square, being a most pleasant Country, and abounding with many droves and flocks of Cattell: it is greene every where, and most fertile of all things, which serve for foode, or which delight the sences of smelling or seeing. It is altogether a plaine country. [II. vi. 774.]

Tenessa.

Upon a certaine hill of Atlas named Ghedmin standeth a towne, which was built (as some report) by the ancient Africans, and called by the name of Tenessa, being a most

strong and defensible place, and being distant about eight miles Eastward from the river of Asifinuall. At the foot of the said hill lieth a most excellent plaine, which, were it not for the lewd theevish Arabians, would yeeld an incomparable crop. And because the inhabitants of Tenessa are deprived of this notable commodity, they till onely that ground which is upon the side of the mountaine, and which lieth betweene the towne and the river. Neither doe they enjoy that gratis; for they yeerely pay unto the Arabians for tribute the third part of their corne.

The new towne of Delgumuha. Upon the top of a certaine high mountaine was built in our time a most large and impregnable Fort, being invironed on all sides with divers other mountaines, and called by the inhabitants New Delgumuha. Beneath the said mountaine springeth Asifinuall, which word signifieth in the African tongue, the River of Rumor, because that breaking foorth by the side of the hill with a monstrous noise, it maketh a most deepe gulfe, much like unto that, which the Italians call Inferno di Tivoli. The said Fort containeth almost a thousand families. They have alwayes beene great lovers of civility, and have worne neat and decent apparell; neither shall you find any corner in the whole towne which is not well peopled. In this towne are plentie of Artificers, for it is but fiftie miles from the City of Maroco.

The Citie of Imizmizi. Upon a certaine part of Atlas standeth a Citie called Imizmizi. Westward it is distant from new Delgumuha about fourteene miles: and this citie the Arabians are reported to have built. Neere unto this Citie lieth the common high way to Guzula over the mountaines of Atlas, being commonly called Burris, that is, A way strewed with feathers: because snow falls often thereupon, which a man would thinke rather to be feathers then snow. Not farre from this towne likewise there is a very faire and large plaine, which extendeth for the space of thirtie miles, even to the territory of Maroco. This most fertile plaine yeeldeth such excellent corne, as (to my remem-

brance) I never saw the like. Saving that the Arabians and souldiers of Maroco doe so much molest the said plaine countrey, that the greater part thereof is destitute of the inhabitants:

A most exact description of the great and famous City of Maroco, as it was 100. *yeeres agoe. The first founder of Maroco.*

This noble City of Maroco in Africa is accounted to be one of the greatest cities in the world. It is built upon a most large field, being about fourteene miles distant from Atlas. One Joseph the sonne of Tesfin, and king of the tribe or people called Luntuna, is reported to have beene the founder of this Citie, at that very time when he conducted his troupes into the region of Maroco, and setled himselfe not farre from the common high-way, which stretcheth from Agmeg over the mountaines of Atlas, to those desarts where the foresaid tribe or people doe usually inhabite. Heere may you behold most stately and wonderfull workmanship: for all their buildings are so cunningly and artificially contrived, that a man cannot easily describe the same. This huge & mighty City, at such time as it was governed by Hali the son of King Joseph, contained more then one hundred thousand families. It had foure and twenty gates belonging therto, and a wall of great strength and thicknes, which was built of white stone and lime. From this City the river of Tensift lieth about sixe miles distant. Heere may you behold great abundance of Temples, of Colledges, of Bath-stoves, and of Innes, all framed after the fashion and custome of that region. Some were built by the King of the tribe of Luntuna, and others by Elmuachidin his successor: but the most curious and magnificent Temple of all, is that in the midst of the City which was built by Hali the first King of Maroco, and the sonne of Joseph aforesaid, being commonly called the Temple of Hali ben Joseph. Howbeit one Abdul-Mumen which succeeded him, to the end he might utterly abolish the name of Hali, and might make himselfe onely famous with posterity, caused this stately Temple of Maroco to be razed, and to be reedified somwhat more sumptuously then before. Howbeit he lost not onely his expences, but failed of his

Maroco in times past contained about 100000, *families. In later times before the late civill broyles, it is likely to have beene much greater: one plague is said to have consumed* 700000. *persons.*

Foolish emulation.

purpose also: for the common people even till this day doe call the said Temple by the first and ancientest name.

Likewise in this City not farre from a certaine rocke was built a Temple by him that was the second usurper over the kingdome of Maroco: after whose death his nephew Mansor enlarged the said Temple fiftie cubits on all sides, and adorned the same with many pillars, which he commanded to be brought out of Spaine for that purpose. Under this Temple he made a Cisterne or vault as bigge as the Temple it selfe: the roofe of the said Temple he covered with lead: and at every corner he made leaden pipes to convay raine water into the Cisterne underneath the Temple. The turret or steeple is built of most hard and well framed stone, like unto Vespasian his Amphitheatrum at Rome, containing in compasse more then an hundreth elles, and in height exceeding the steeple of Bononia. The staires of the said turret or steeple are each of them nine handfuls in breadth, the utmost side of the wall is ten, and* the thicknes of the turret is five. The said turret hath seven lofts, unto which the staires ascending are very lightsome: for there are great store of windowes, which to the end they may give more light, are made broader within then without. Upon the top of this turret is built a certaine spire or pinnacle rising sharpe in forme of a sugar-loafe, and containing five and twenty elles in compasse, but in height being not much more then two speares length: the said spire hath three lofts one above another, unto every of which they ascend with wooden ladders. Likewise on the top of this spire standeth a golden halfe moone, upon a barre of Iron, with three spheares of gold under it; which golden spheares are so fastened unto the said iron bar that the greatest is lowest, and the least highest. It would make a man giddie to looke downe from the top of the turret; for men walking on the ground, be they never so tall, seeme no bigger then a child of one yeere old. From hence likewise may you plainely escrie the promontory of Azaphi, which notwithstanding is an hundreth and thirtie miles distant.

Glansor the king of Maroco.

A stately Temple.

**Obscurum.*

[II. vi. 775.]

But mountaines (you will say) by reason of their huge bignesse may easily be seene a farre off: howbeit from this turret a man may in cleere weather most easily see fiftie miles into the plaine countreys. The inner part of the said Temple is not very beautifull. But the roofe is most cunningly and artificially vaulted, the timbers being framed and set together with singular workmanship, so that I have not seene many fairer Temples in all Italy. And albeit you shall hardly find any Temple in the whole world greater then this, yet it is very meanly frequented; for the people doe never assemble there but onely upon fridayes. Yea a great part of this City, especially about the aforesaid Temple lieth so desolate & void of inhabitants, that a man cannot without great difficulty passe, by reason of the ruines of many houses lying in the way. Under the porch of this Temple it is reported that in old time there were almost an hundreth shops of sale-bookes, and as many on the other side over against them: but at this time I thinke there is not one Book-seller in all the whole City to be found. And scarcely is the third part of this City inhabited.

Great store of bookes in old time to be sold in Maroco.

Within the wals of Maroco are Vines, Palme-trees, great Gardens, and most fruitfull Corne-fields: for without their wals they can till no ground, by reason of the Arabians often inrodes. Know ye this for a certainty, that the said City is growen to untimely decay and old age: for scarcely five hundreth and sixe yeeres are past, since the first building thereof, forasmuch as the foundations thereof were laid in the time of Joseph the sonne of Tesfin, that is to say, in the foure hundreth twentie and fourth yeere of the Hegeiria. Which decay I can impute to none other cause, but to the injurie of continuall warres, and to the often alterations of Magistrates and of the common-wealth. After King Joseph succeeded his sonne Hali, and the sonne of Hali was ordained governour after his fathers decease. In whose time sprung up a factious crue, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan Preacher named Elmaheli, being a man both borne and brought up

State of it 1526.

Causes of the decay of Maroco.

Elmaheli a factious preacher.

in the mountaines. The said Elmaheli having levied a great army, waged warre against Abraham his soveraigne Lord. Whereupon King Abraham conducting another armie against him, had marveilous ill successe: and after the battell ended, his passage into the City of Maroco was so stopped and restrained, that he was forced with a few souldiers, which remained yet alive, to flee Eastward to the mountaines of Atlas. But Elmaheli not being satisfied with expelling his true Soveraigne out of his owne Kingdome, commanded one of the Captaines called Abdul Mumen, with the one halfe of his armie to pursue the distressed King, while himself with the other halfe laide siege to Maroco. The king with his followers came at length unto Oran, hoping there to have renewed his forces. But Abdul Mumen and his great armie pursued the said King so narrowly, that the Citizens of Oran told him in plaine termes, that they would not hazard themselves for him. Wherefore this unhappie King being utterly driven to dispaire, set his Queene on horse-backe behind him, and so in the night time road foorth of the Citie. But perceiving that hee was discried and knowen by his enemies, he fled foorthwith unto a certaine rocke standing upon the sea-shoare: where, setting spurs to his horse-side, he cast himselfe, his most deare spouse, and his horse downe headlong, and was within a while after found slaine among the rockes and stones, by certaine which dwelt neere unto the place. Wherefore Abdul Mumen having gotten the victorie, returned in triumphant manner toward Maroco, where the foresaid Elmaheli was deceased before his comming, in whose place Abdal was chosen King and Mahumetan Prelate over the fortie disciples, and tooke ten persons to be of his privy councell, which was a new invention in the law of Mahumet. This Abdul Mumen having besieged the Citie of Maroco for the space of an whole yeere, at last overcame it: and killed Isaac, the onely sonne of King Abraham with his owne hand, he commanded all the souldiers and a good part of the Citizens to be slaine. This mans posteritie raigned from

The miserable death of Abraham King of Maroco and of his Queene.

New Sect.

the five hundred sixteenth, to the sixe hundred sixtie eight yeere of the Hegeira, and at length they were dispossessed of the Kingdome by a certaine King of the Tribe called Marin. The family of Marin after the said Kings decease bare rule till the yeere of the Hegeira, seven hundreth eightie and five. The principall court of this family was holden for the most part at Fez; but over Maroco were appointed Vice-royes and Deputies: insomuch that Fez was continually the head and Metropolitan Citie of all Mauritania, and of all the Westerne dominion.

In later yeeres Maroco recovered the supremacy.

In the said City of Maroco is a most impregnable Castle, which, if you consider the bignes, the walls, the towres, and the gates built all of perfect marble, you may well thinke it to be a City rather then a Castle. Within this Castle there is a stately Temple, having a most loftie and high steeple, on the top whereof standeth an halfe moone, and under the halfe moone are three golden spheares one bigger then another, which all of them together weigh one hundreth and thirty thousand ducates. Some Kings there were, who being allured with the value, went about to take downe the said golden spheares: but they had alwayes some great misfortune or other, which hindred their attempt: Likewise the said Castle containeth a noble Colledge, which hath thirtie Hals belonging thereunto: In the midst whereof is one Hall of a marvellous greatnesse, wherein publike Lectures were most solemnely read, while the studie of Learning flourished among them. Such as were admitted into this Colledge had their victuals and apparell freely given them. Of their Professours some were yearely allowed an hundred, and some two hundred Duckats, according to the qualitie of their profession: neither would they admit any to heare them read, but such as perfectly understood what belonged to those Arts which they professed. The wals of this beautifull Hall are most stately adorned with painting and carving, especially of that Hall where Lectures were woont publikely to be read. All their Porches and vaulted Roofes are made of painted and glittering stones, called

A stronge Castle.

A stately temple.

[II. vi. 776.]

Three golden spheares.

A great Colledge.

in their Language Ezzulleia, such as are yet used in Spaine. In the midst of the said building is a most pleasant and cleare Fountaine, the wall whereof is of white and polished Marble, albeit low built, as in Africa for the most part such wals are. I have heard that in old time here was great abundance of Students, but at my being there I found but five in all: and they have now a most senselesse Professour, and one that is quite void of all humanitie.

Moreover, the foresaid Castle (as I remember) hath twelve Courts most curiously and artificially built by one Mansor. In the first lodged about five hundred Christians, which carryed Crosse-bowes before the King whither soever he went. Not farre from thence is the lodging of the Lord Chancellour and of the Kings Privie Counsell, which House is called by them, The House of Affaires. The third is called, The Court of Victorie; wherein all the Armour and Munition of the Citie is layed up. The fourth, belongeth to the great Master of the Kings Horse. Upon this Court three Stables adjoyne, each one of which Stables will containe two hundred Horses. Likewise there are two other Ostleries, whereof one is for Mules, and the other for an hundred of the Kings Horses onely. Next unto the Stables were two Barnes or Garners adjoyning in two severall places, in the lower of which Barnes was layed Straw, and Barley in the other. There is also another most large place to lay up Corne in, every Roome whereof will containe more then three hundred Bushels. The cover of the said Roome hath a certaine hole whereunto they ascend by staires made of stone. Whither the beasts laden with Corne being come, they powre the said Corne into the hole. And so when they would take any Corne from thence, they doe but open certaine holes below, suffering so much Corne to come forth as may serve their turnes, and that without any labour at all. There is likewise a certaine other Hall, where the Kings Sonne, and the Sonnes of Noblemen are instructed in Learning. Then may you behold a certaine foure-square building,

containing divers Galleries with faire Glasse Windowes, in which Galleries are many Histories most curiously painted: heere likewise the glittering and gilt Armour is to be seene. Next unto this building is another, wherein certaine of the Kings Guard are lodged: then followes that wherein State-matters are discussed: whereunto adjoyneth also another, which is appointed for Ambassadors to conferre with the Kings Privie Counsell in. Likewise the Kings Concubines and other Ladies of Honour have a most convenient place assigned them: next unto which standeth the Lodging of the Kings Sonnes. Not farre from the Castle wall, on that side which is next unto the fields, may you behold a most pleasant and large Garden, contayning almost all kind of Trees that can bee named.

Moreover, there is a sumptuous and stately Porch built of most excellent square Marble: in the midst whereof standeth a Piller with a Lion very artificially made of Marble, out of the mouth of which Lion issueth most cleere and Christall water, falling into a Cisterne within the Porch: at each corner of the said Porch standeth the Image of a Leopard framed of white Marble, which is naturally adorned with certaine blacke spots: this kind of parti-coloured Marble is no where to be found but onely in a certaine place of Atlas, which is about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from Maroco. Not farre from the Garden stands a certaine Wood or Parke walled round about: And here I thinke no kind of wild beasts are wanting: for heere you may behold Elephants, Lions, Stagges, Roes, and such like: howbeit the Lions are separated in a certaine place from other beasts, which place even to this day is called The Lions Den. Wherefore such Monuments of Antiquitie as are yet extant in Maroco, albeit they are but few, doe notwithstanding sufficiently argue, what a Noble Citie it was in the time of Mansor.

Excellent spotted Marble.

This King called Mansor, was he unto whom Rasis that famous Physician dedicated his Booke.

At this present all the Courts and Lodgings before described lye utterly voyd and desolate: except perhaps some of the Kings Ostlery which tend his Mules and

Horses do lye in that Court, which we said even now was to lodge Archers and Crosse-bow-men: all the residue are left for the Fowles of the Aire to nestle in. That Garden which you might have named a Paradise in old time, is now become a place where the filth and dung of the whole Citie is cast forth. Where the faire and stately Librarie was of old, at this present there is nothing else to be found, but Hens, Doves, and other such like Fowles, [II. vi. 777.] which build their Nests there. Certaine it is, that the foresaid Mansor, whom we have so often mentioned, was *The huge Dominions of King Mansor.* a most puissant and mighty Prince: for it is well knowne that his Dominion stretched from the Towne of Messa to the Kingdome of Tripolis in Barbarie, which is the most excellent Region of Africa, and so large, that a man can hardly travell the length thereof in fourescore and ten dayes, or the breadth in fifteene. This Mansor likewise was in times past Lord of all the Kingdome of Granada in Spaine. Yea, his Dominion in Spaine extended from Tariffa to Aragon, and over a great part of Castilia and of Portugall. Neither did this Jacob, surnamed Mansor, only possesse the foresaid Dominions, but also his Grandfather Abdul Mumen, his father Joseph, and his Sonne *The Christians happie successe against the Moores.* Mahumet Enasir, who beeing vanquished in the Kingdome of Valentia, lost threescore thousand Souldiers, Horsemen and Footmen: howbeit himselfe escaped and returned to Maroco. The Christians being encouraged with this victorie, refrayned not from Warre, till, within thirtie yeares space, they had wonne all the Townes following, to wit, Valentia, Denia, Alcauro, Murcia, Cartagena, Cordova, Sivillia, Iaen, and Ubeda. After which unhappie warre succeeded the decay of Maroco. The said Mahumet deceasing, left behind him ten Sonnes of a full and perfect age, who contended much about the Kingdome. Hereupon it came to passe, while the Brethren were at discord, and assayled each other with mutuall warres, that the people of Fez called Marini, and the Inhabitants of other Regions adjacent, began to usurpe the Government. The people called Habduluad enjoyed Tremizen, expelling the

King of Tunis, and ordayning some other, whom they pleased, in his stead. Now have you heard the end of Mansor his Progenie and Successors. The Kingdome therefore was translated unto one Jacob the Sonne of Habdulach, who was the first King of the Family called Marin. And at length the famous Citie of Maroco it selfe, by reason of the Arabians continuall out-rages, fell into most extreme calamitie: so great is the inconstancie of all earthly things. That which we have here reported as touching Maroco, partly we saw with our owne eyes, partly we reade in the Historie of one Ibnu Abdul Malich, a most exact Chronicler of the Affaires of Maroco.

Ibnu Abdul an Historian of Africa.

The Towne of Agmet built of old by the Africans upon the top of a certaine hill which beginneth almost from Atlas, is distant from Maroco about foure and twentie miles. In times past, when Muachidin was Prince thereof, it contayned more then sixe thousand Families: at what time the people were very civill, and had such plentie and magnificence of all things, that many would not sticke to compare this Towne with the Citie of Maroco. It had on all sides most pleasant Gardens, and great store of Vines, whereof some grew upon the Mountaine it selfe, and others on the Valley. By the foot of this Hill runneth a faire River, which springing forth of Atlas falleth at length into Tensift. The field which lyeth neere unto this River is said to be so fruitfull, that it yeeldeth every yeere fiftie fold increase. The water of this River looketh alwaies white.

The Towne of Agmet.

Howbeit the Citie of Agmet, which I have now described unto, hath at this day no other Inhabitants but Woolves, Foxes, Deere, and such other wilde beasts. Except onely at my being there I found a certaine Hermite, who was attended upon by an hundred persons of his owne Sect: all of them were well-horsed, and did their best endevour to become Governours and Commanders, but their forces were insufficient. With this Hermite I staied (as I remember) for the space of ten dayes, and found one amongst his followers, with whom I had old

The desolation of Agmet.

Hermite.

John Leo student at Fez.

acquaintance, and familiaritie: for we were certaine fellow-students together at Fez, where beeing of one standing and senioritie, we heard that Booke of the Mahumetan Religion expounded which is commonly called the Epistle of Nensesi.

The Mountaine of Nififa.

Having before described all the Cities and Townes of Maroco, it now remayneth that wee briefly declare the situation and qualitie of the Mountaines there. Wherefore wee will beginne with the Mountaine of Nififa, from whence the Region of Maroco it selfe beginneth West-ward, and is thereby divided from the Province of Hea. The said Mountaine hath great store of Inhabitants: and albeit the tops thereof are continually covered with Snow; yet doth it yearely affoord marvellous increase and abundance of Barley. The rude people there are so destitute of all humanitie and civill behaviour, that they doe admire not onely all Strangers, but also doe even gaze and wonder at their apparell. I my selfe remayned two dayes among them, in which space all the people of the Towne came flocking about mee, greatly wondring at the white Garment which I wore (being such as the learned men of our Countrey are usually clad in) so that every one being desirous to handle and view this Garment of mine, in two dayes it was turned from white to blacke, and became all greasie and filthy.

Learned men clothed in white.

Semede.

At the bounds of Nififa, a certaine other Mountaine called by the Inhabitants Semede, taketh his originall: and these two Mountaines are separated by the River of Sefsaua. Semede extendeth East-ward almost twentie miles, the Inhabitants whereof are most base and witlesse people. Great store of Springs and Fountaines are here to be found; the Snow is perpetuall; all good Lawes, Civilitie and honestie are quite banished from hence, except perhaps the people be mooved thereunto by the advice of some stranger, whom they find to be of a modest and sober disposition. Here being entertayned by a certaine religious man of the same place (who was had in great reputation by the people) I was constrayned to eate

of such grosse meats as the said people are accustomed unto, to wit, of Barley meale mingled with water, and of Goats-flesh, which was extremely tough and hard by reason of the stalenesse and long continuance. After Supper we had no other Bed but the bare ground to lye upon. [II. vi. 778.]

Strange tryals in Law.

The next morning being readie to take Horse, and desirous to depart, fiftie of the people came about me, laying open each man their Causes and Suites unto me, as our people use to do before a Judge. Unto whom I answered, that I had never in all my life either knowne or heard of the manners and customes of that Region. Forth-with comes one of the chiefe men amongst them, affirming that it was their custome never to dismisse any Stranger, till hee had both heard and throughly decided all the Quarrels and Controversies of the Inhabitants. Which words he had no sooner uttered, but immediately my Horse was taken from me. Wherefore I was constrayned for nine dayes, and so many nights, longer to abide the penurie and miserie of that Region. Moreover, my trouble was the greater, for that, in such abundance of Suites and Affaires, there was not one man present, which could set downe so much as a word in writing: wherefore I my selfe was fayne to play both the Judge and the Notarie.

John Leo constrayned to play the Judge.

Upon the eight day they all of them promised to bestow some great Reward upon mee. Wherefore the night following seemed unto me a yeare long: for I was in good hope, the next morrow to have received a masse of Gold from my Clients. So soone as the next day began to dawne, they placed me in a certaine Church-porch: whither, after an usuall and short Prayer ended, each man full reverently presented his gift unto me. Here some offered me a Cocke, others brought me Nuts and Onions, and some others bestowed a handfull of Garlicke upon me. The principall and head-men amongst them presented mee with a Goat; and so by reason that there was no money in all the said Mountayne, they proffered mee not one farthing for my paines: wherefore all the said gifts I

bequeathed unto mine Hoast for his worthy entertayning of me. And this was all the notable reward which I reaped in regard of so great and intollerable paines. All things being thus dispatched, they sent fiftie Horsemen to accompany and guard me from Theeves in that dangerous way.

The Mountain called Seusaua.

This Mountaine of Seusaua taketh his beginning where Semede endeth, out of which springeth a certaine River, having one name with the said Mountaine from whence it proceedeth. Never were the tops of this Mountaine seene destitute of Snow. The Inhabitants leade a brutish and savage life, waging continuall warre with their next Neighbours: for which purpose they use neither Swords, Javelins, nor any other Warlike Instruments, but onely certaine Slings, out of which they discharge stones after a strange and wonderfull manner. Their victuals consist of Barley, Honey, and Goates flesh. In the same Mountaine great multitudes of Jewes exercising Handie-crafts, doe inhabit: likewise they make Sope, Iron-hookes, and Horse-shooes. Divers Masons are here to be found also. They build their wals of no other matter but onely of rough stone and lime, and the roofes of their houses they use to cover with thatch: neither have they any other kind of lime or brickes. They have among them also abundance of learned men and of skilfull Lawyers, whose counsell they use at all times. Among whom I found some, who had heretofore beene my fellow-students at Fez, and for our old acquaintance sake, gave me most courteous entertaynment: and, to the end I might escape the danger of Theeves, they conducted me a good part of my way.

The Mountains Sefiua, Teumella, and Gedmeua are omitted.

Never did I see (to my remembrance) an higher Mountayne, then that which the Africans call Hanteta.

Hanteta.

Many Jewes exercising divers Handie-crafts doe here inhabit, and doe yearely pay unto the Governour of this Mountayne great summes of money. As concerning Religion, they follow them especially which are called Carrain. The top of this Mountayne is continually covered with Snow. When I first beheld this Mountayne,

Carrain Jewes.

I thought it had beene Cloudes, so great is the height thereof. The sides of this Mountayne being altogether destitute of Herbs and Trees, are in many places stored with excellent white Marble, which the people might digge, and make a good commoditie thereof, were they not so sluggish and so ignorant in hewing and polishing of the same. In this place are many Pillars and Arches which were most artificially and sumptuously built by those mightie Princes whom wee have often before made mention of: which Pillars they would have used for the building of Water-conduits, had they not beene hindered by the violence of warres.

Guzzula.

This Region is exceeding populous: Westward it abutteth upon Ilda a Mountayne of Sus; Northward it joyneth unto Atlas, and Eastward it stretcheth unto the Region of Hea. It is inhabited with savage and fierce people, being most needie of money, and yet abounding greatly in Cattell. Great store of Copper and Iron is here digged out of Mines. Great Villages they have, which containe many of them, more then a thousand Families a piece. They have neyther King nor Governour to prescribe any Lawes unto them: but every one is his owne Captaine and Commander; whereupon they are at continuall warres among themselves, neither have they any truce at all, but three dayes onely every weeke; during which time every man may safely and freely bargaine with his Enemie, and may travell whither hee listeth. But these dayes of Truce being past, the wretched people of this Region doe continually commit most horrible slaughters. The foresaid dayes of truce a certaine Hermite appointed unto them, whom they honoured and reverenced like a god. This Hermite with one eye, I my selfe saw, and found him to be a trusty, sincere, courteous, and most liberall person. Once every yeere they have a Faire of two months long: all which time (though the number of Merchants be never so great) they give free entertainment unto all such as either bring wares with them, or come thither to fetch away their wares.

Iron and Copper Mines.

Continuall wars in Guzzula.

Weekly Truces.

[II. vi. 779.]

Venerable Hermite.

Free entertainment for Merchants.

When the time of their Faire approcheth, they foorthwith make truce, and each faction appointeth a Captaine over an hundred souldiers, to the end they may keepe themselves in safety, and may defend their said Faire from the invasion and injury of all lewd persons. If any offence be committed, the Captaines immediately give sentence upon the guilty person: and whosoever be convicted of theft, is foorthwith slaine like a brute beast, and his theeves carkasse is throwne out to bee devoured of dogges, wilde beasts, and ravenous fowles.

Cruell executions.

Of the Region of Duccala, in which is Azafi and the rest following: it was won by the Portugals, A.H. 920. by reason of civill broiles, one Hali having slaine the King being at a Sermon in the Church. The Portugals about this time brought a new face on the Townes of these parts, as ye may see in Leo himselfe.

Azapi was built by the Africans, and standeth upon the shore of the Ocean sea, containing foure thousand families: inhabitants there are great store, being for the most part very uncivill and barbarous. In times past there dwelt many Jewes in this Towne, which exercised divers Handi-crafts. Their soyle is exceeding fertile; but so grosse is their owne unskilfulnesse and negligence, that they know neither how to till their ground, to sow their Corne, or to plant Vineyards.

Centum putei. Corne preserved one hundred yeares.

The Towne Centumputei is built upon a rocke of excellent marble: in the Suburbes whereof are certaine caves, wherein the inhabitants use to lay up their Corne: which is there so wonderfully preserved, that it will continue an hundreth yeares without any ill favour or corruption. Of the number of which caves, resembling pits or wels, the Towne it self is called Centum putei. The inhabitants are of small reckoning or account, having no artificers dwelling among them but certaine Jewes.

Azamur, a Towne of Duccala, was built by the Africans upon that part of the Ocean seashore, where the River of Ommirabih disemboqueth, being distant from Elmadina Southward, about thirtie miles. Very large it is, and well inhabited, and containeth to the number of five thousand families. Here doe the Portugall Merchants continually reside. The inhabitants are very civill, and decently apparelled. And albeit they are divided into two parts, yet have they continuall peace among themselves. Pulse and Corne they have great plentie, though their Gardens

and Orchards bring forth nought else but figs. They have such plentie of fishes, that they receive yearely for them sometime sixe thousand, and sometime seven thousand duckats. And their time of fishing dureth from October to the end of Aprill. They use to frie fishes in a certaine pan with oyle, whereby they gather an incredible quantitie of trane: neither use they any other oyle to put into their lampes. The Jewes compounded with the King of Portugall, to yeeld the Citie to him, on condition, that they should sustaine no injurie, with a generall consent opened the Gates unto them: and so the Christians obtained the Citie, and the people went to dwell part of them to Sala, and part to Fez. Neither doe I thinke that God for any other cause brought this calamitie upon them, but onely for the horrible vice of Sodomie, whereunto the greatest part of the Citizens were so notoriously addicted, that they could scarce see any young stripling, who escaped their lust.

**Or Marbea.*

Traine Oyle.

Azamur wonne by the Portugals.

Sodomie.

The Greene Mountaine is of an exceeding height, beginning Eastward from the River of Ommirabih, and extending Westward to the Hills, called in their language Hasara; and it divideth Duccala from some part of Tedles. Likewise this Mountaine is very rough and full of Woods, affoording great store of Acornes and Pine-apples, and a certaine kind of red fruit which the Italians commonly call Africano. Many Hermites also doe inhabite upon this Mountaine, living with no other kind of victuals, but such as the Woods yeeld unto them: for they are above five and twenty miles distant from all Townes and Cities. Here are great store of fountaines and of Altars built after the Mahumetan fashion, and many ancient houses also erected by the Africans.

Greene Mountaine.

The fruit called by the Italians, Frutto Africano.

Religious Hermits.

Tagodast is built upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, having foure other high Mountaines round about it. Betweene which foure Mountaines and the said Towne, are divers most large and beautiful Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits: Quinces here are of an incredible bignesse. Their Vines dispersing themselves upon the

Tagodast.

boughes of trees, doe make most pleasant Bowers and Walkes; the Grapes whereof being red, are for their bignesse called in the language of that people, Hennes egs. They have here great abundance of Oyle, and most excellent Hony; some of their Hony being white, and some yellow. This Towne hath many fountaines about it, which joyning into one streame, doe serve for many Water-mils thereabouts. Here are likewise great store of Artizans, who exercise themselves onely about things necessary. The inhabitants are somewhat civill, their women are most beautifull, being most gorgeously decked with silver Jewels. Their Oyle they carry unto the next Cities Southward of them on this side Atlas: but they send their Leather unto Fez and Mecnasa. Their Plaine is almost sixe miles long, the soyle being most fruitful for Corne: in regard whereof, the Townesmen pay certaine yearely tribute unto the Arabians. This Towne hath Judges, Priests, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Grapes of marvellous bignesse.

White honey.

[II. vi. 780.] Neere unto the foresaid Towne, within five miles, standeth Elgiumuha. It was in our time built upon the top of an high Mountaine, and containeth to the number of five hundred families, besides so many families comprised in the Villages of that Mountaine. Here are innumerable Springs and Fountaines, and most pleasant and fruitfull Gardens in all places. Here are likewise Walnut-trees huge and tall. The little Hills environing this Mountaine, doe yeeld Barly and Olives in great abundance. In the said Towne are great numbers of Artizans, as Smiths, Leather-dressers, and such like. And because they have here notable Yron-mines, they make plentie of Horse-shooes.

Elgiumuba.

In the Mountaine of Tenueues, being but sixteene yeares old, I travelled with mine Uncle, Ambassadour from the King of Fez to the King of Tombuto; and the Prince here gave mee in recompence of Arabia Verses wherewith I presented him, fiftie duckats, and a good Horse.

Tefza. Tefza, the chiefe Towne of all Tedles, was built by the Africans upon the side of Mount Atlas, some five miles

from the Plaine. The Towne-walls are built of most excellent Marble, which is called in their language Tefza, and hereupon the Towne was so called likewise. Heere doe reside most rich Merchants of all sorts: of Jewes here are two hundred families, who exercise Merchandise and divers other trades. And heere you shall finde many Outlandish Merchants which buy from hence certaine blacke Mantles with hoods, commonly called Ilbernus: of these there are great numbers both in Italy and Spaine. They have Golden Coine without any Image or superscription: their apparell is decent: and their women are beautifull and of good behaviour. In this towne are divers Mahumetan Temples, and many Priests and Judges. The King receiveth from that City, even at this present twenty thousand Ducats for yeerely tribute.

Marble wals.

Ilbernus.

His Captaine extorted 84000. Ducats of the Citizens & more from one Jew.

Somewhat beyond the foresaid Mountaine of Seggheme standeth Mount Magran. Southward it bordereth upon the Region of Farcali, neere unto the Lybian desart: Westward it beginneth at Seggheme, and extendeth Eastward to the foot of Mount Dedes. It is continually covered with snow. The inhabitants have such abundance of small & great cattell that they cannot long remaine in one place together. They build their houses of the Barke of certaine trees, the rooffe whereof dependeth on slender sparres, fashioned like unto the hoopes invironing the lids of such Chests or Trunks, as the women of Italy, when they travell, carry upon their Mules. So likewise these people transport their whole houses up and downe by the strength of Mules, till they have found a fit place of aboad; where, so soone as they arrive, they plant their sayd houses, remaining there with their whole families, so long as they have grasse sufficient to feede their cattell. Howbeit all the spring time they settle themselves in one place, making certaine low Stables or Cottages, and covering them with the boughs of trees, which serve for their cattell to lie in a nights: and to the end that the cold may not pinch them overmuch, they kindle certaine huge fires neere unto their said Stables, whereupon sometimes the

The Mountain called Magran.

These people live like the Tartars.

wind so violently driveth the fire, that unlesse the cattell escape by flight, they are in great danger to be consumed: and as their houses are destitute of walls, so are their Stables. They are continually molested and haunted with Lions and Woolves. In their apparell and customes they wholly agree with the foresaid people of Seggheme, saving that these have houses of Barke and Wood, and the other of Stone. I my selfe, in the nine hundreth and seventeenth yeere of the Hegeira, was in this Mountaine, as I travelled from Dara to Fez.

A description of Mount Dede.

The high and cold Mountaine of Dedes greatly aboundeth with Fountaines and Woods. Westward it beginneth at Mount Magran, extending thence almost as far as the Mountaine of Adesan; and Southward it bordereth upon the plaines of Todga. The length thereof is almost fourescore miles. Upon the very top of this Mountaine there was a City built in ancient time, whereof a few ruinous Monuments are to be seene at this present; namely, certaine walles of white Stone, wherein are divers letters and words graven, which the inhabitants themselves doe not understand. Many are of opinion, that this City was built long agoe by the Romanes: howbeit I my selfe could never finde so much affirmed by an African writer, nor yet the City it selfe mentioned. Saving that Seriffo Essacalli in a certaine Story of his maketh mention of Tedsi, which he saith is neere unto Segelmesse and Dara: but he declareth not whether it bee built upon Mount Dedes or no. Howbeit for mine owne part I thinke it to be the very same: for there is no other City in the whole Region. The inhabitants of Dedes are in very deed most base people; of whom the greater part dwell in Caves under the ground: their food is Barly and Elhasid, that is to say, Barly meale sodden with water and salt, which we mentioned before in our description of Hea: For heere is nothing but Barly to be had. Goates and Asses they have in great abundance. The Caves wherein their cattell lodge are exceedingly full of *Nitre: so that I verily thinke if this Mountaine were neere unto Italy, the said

Seriffo Essacalli an Historian.

**Or Saltpeter.*

Nitre would yeerely be worth five and twenty thousand Ducats. But such is their negligence and unskilfulnesse, that they are truely ignorant to what purposes Nitre serveth. Their garments are so rude, that they scarce cover halfe their nakednesse. Their houses are so loathsome, being annoyed with the stinking smell of their Goats. In all this Mountaine you shall finde neither Castle nor walled Towne: when they build an house, they pile one stone upon another without any morter at all, the roofe whereof they make of certaine rubbish, like as they doe in some places of Sisa and Fabbriano: the residue (as we have said) doe inhabite in Caves, neither saw I ever, to my remembrance, greater swarmes of fleas then among those people. Moreover, they are trecherous and strong theeves, so given to stealing and quarrelling, that for one unkind word they will not only contend, but seeke also the destruction one of another. They have neither Judge, Priest, nor any honest Governour among them. No Merchants resort unto them: for being given to continuall idlenesse, and not exercising any trades or handie-crafts, they have nothing meete for Merchants to buy. If any Merchant bring any wares into their Region, unlesse he be safe conducted by their Captaine, he is in danger to be robbed of altogether. And if the wares serve not for their owne necessary uses, they will exact one fourth part of them for custome. Their women are most forlorne and sluttish, going more beggerly apparelled then the men. So continuall and slavish are the toiles of these women, that for misery, the life of Asses is not comparable to theirs. And, to be briefe, never was I so weary of any place in all Africa as I was of this: howbeit in the yeere of the Hegeira, nine hundred and eighteene, being commanded by one, to whom I was in duety bound, to travell unto Segelmesse, I could not choose but come this way. [H. vi. 781.]

[§. III.

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Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his third Booke of the Historie of Africa.

A most exact description of the Kingdome of Fez.

THe kingdome of Fez beginneth Westward at the famous river Ommirabih, and extendeth eastward to the river Muluia; Northward it is enclosed partly with the Ocean, and partly with the Mediterran sea. The said Kingdome of Fez is divided into seven Provinces; to wit, Temesna, the Territory of Fez, Azgar, *Habat. *Elhabet, Erna, Garet, and *Elchauz: every of which *Chauzor. Cheuz. Provinces had in old time a severall Governour: neither indeed hath the City of Fez alwayes beene the Kings Royall Seate, but being built by a certaine Mahumetan Apostata, was governed by his posteritie almost an hundred [II. vi. 782.] and fiftie yeeres. After which time the familie of Marin got the upper hand, who here setling their aboad, were the first that ever called Fez by the name of a Kingdome.

Of Temesne one of the Provinces of Fez.

Westward it beginneth at the River Ommirabih, and stretcheth to the River Buragrag Eastward; the South Frontire thereof bordereth upon Atlas, and the North upon the Ocean Sea. It is all over a plaine Countrey, contayning in length from the West to East almost fourescore miles, and in breadth from Atlas to the Ocean Sea about threescore. This Province hath ever almost beene the principall of the seven before named: for it contained to the number of forty great Townes, besides three hundred Castles, all which were inhabited by Barbarian Africans. In the three hundred three & twentieth yeer of the Hegeira, this Province was by a certaine heretike against *A dangerous seducer.* the Mahumetan Religion, called Chemim the sonne of Mennall, freed from paying of tribute. This bad fellow perswaded the people of Fez to yeeld no tribute nor honour unto their Prince, and himselfe he professed to be a Prophet: but a while after he dealt not onely in matters of Religion, but in common-wealth affaires also. At length waging warre against the King of Fez (who

was himselfe then warring with the people of Zenete) it so befell, that a league was concluded betweene them, conditionally that Chemin should enjoy Temesne, and that the King should containe himselfe within his Signiorie of Fez, so that from thencefoorth neither should molest other. The said Chemim governed the Province of Temesne about five and thirtie yeeres: and his successours enjoyed it almost an hundred yeeres after his decease. But King Joseph having built Maroco, went about to bring this Province under his subjection. Wherupon he sent sundry Mahumetan Doctors, and Priests to reclaime the governour thereof from his heresie, and to perswade him, if it were possible, to yeeld unto the King by faire meanes. Whereof the inhabitants being advertised, they consulted with a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Governour, in the Citie called Anfa, to murther the King of Maroco his Ambassadours: and so they did. Soone after levying an army of fifty thousand men, he marched towards Maroco, intending to expell thence the family of Luntuna, and Joseph their King. King Joseph hearing of this newes, was driven into wonderfull perplexity of mind. Wherefore preparing an huge and mighty army, he stayed not the comming of his enemies: but on the sudden within three dayes, having conducted his forces over the River of Ommirabih, he entred Temesne, when as the foresaid fifty thousand men were so dismayed at the Kings army, that they all passed the River Buragrag, and so fled into Fez. But the King so dispeopled and wasted Temesne, that without all remorse he put both man, woman, and child to the sword. This army remayned in the Region eight dayes, in which space they so razed and demolished all the Townes and Cities thereof, that there scarce remaine any fragments of them at this time. But the King of Fez on the other side hearing that the people of Temesne were come into his Dominions, made a truce with the Tribe of Zenete, and bent his great army against the said Temesnites. And at length having found them halfe famished neere unto the River of Buragrag, he so

Differences in Religion and the effects.

The horrible desolation of Temesne.

stopped their passages on all sides, that they were constrained to run up the craggie mountaines and thickets. At last being environed with the Kings forces, some of them were drowned in the River, others were throwne downe headlong from the rockes, and the residue were miserably slaine by their enemies. And for the space of ten moneths there was such havocke made among the Temesnites, that a silly remnant of them was left alive. But King Joseph Prince of the Luntunes returned foorthwith to Maroco for the repayring of his forces, to the end he might bid the King of Fez a battell. Howbeit Temesne being bereft of her people, was left to be inhabited of wilde beasts. Neither had that Province any new Colony, or supply of inhabitants, till that about one hundreth and fifty yeeres after, King Mansor returning from Tunis, brought thence certaine Arabians with him, unto whom he gave the possession of Temesne. And these Arabians enjoyed the said Province for fifty yeeres, till such time as King Mansor himselfe was expelled out of his Kingdom: & then were they also expelled by the Luntunes, & were brought into extreme miserie. Afterward the Kings of the family of Marin bestowed the said Province upon the people of Zenete and Haoara. Hence it came to passe that the said people of Zentete & Haoara, were alwayes great friends unto the Marin family, and were thought to have defended them from the fury of the King of Maroco. From which time they have peaceably enjoyed Maroco, and now they are grown in lesse then an hundred yeers so mighty, that they stand not in feare of the King of Fez. For they are able to bring threescore thousand horsemen into the field, & have two hundred Castles at their commaund. My selfe had great familiarity and acquaintance with them, and therefore I will not sticke to record all memorable things which I saw among them.

Ansa a Towne in Temesne. This famous Towne was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, Northward of Atlas sixtie, Eastward of Azamur sixty, and Westward Rebat forty miles. The Citizens thereof were most civill and wealthy people: the

A.D. c. 1526.

fields thereto adjoyning are exceeding fruitfull for all kind of graine: neither doe I thinke, that any Towne in all Africa is for pleasant situation comparable thereto. The plaine round about it (except it be to the Sea Northward) is almost fourescore miles over. In old time it was fraught with stately Temples, rich ware-houses and shops, and beautifull palaces: which the monuments as yet remayning doe sufficiently testifie. They had also most large and faire gardens, out of which they gather great abundance of fruit, especially of Melons, & Pome-citrons even at this day: all which are perfectly ripe by mid-Aprill. So that the inhabitants usually carry their fruits unto Fez, by reason that the fruits of Fez are not so soone ripe. Their attire is trim and decent, and they have alwayes had great traffique with the Portugals and the English. Likewise they have many learned men among them. But is now desolate and destroyed by Portugals. [II. vi. 783.]

English traffique. Ansa destroyed by the Portugals.

This great and famous Towne was built not many yeers ago by Mansor the King & Mahumetan Patriark of Maroco, upon the Ocean Sea shoare. By the East part therof runneth the River Buragrag before-named, and there dischargeth it selfe into the maine Sea. The rocke whereon this Towne is founded, standeth neere the mouth of the said River, having the River on the one side thereof, and the Sea on the other. In building it much resembleth Maroco, which Mansor willed to be a patterne thereof: saving that it is a great deale lesse then Maroco. Some say that the reason why it was built in this place was, for that King Mansor possessing the Kingdome of Granada, and a great part of Spaine besides, and considering that Maroco was so farre distant, that if any warres should happen, he could not in due time send new forces against the Christians, determined to build some Towne upon the Sea shoare, where he and his army might remaine all summer time. Some perswaded him to lie with his army at Ceuta a Towne upon the streights of Gibraltar: but Mansor seeing that by reason of the barrennes of the soile he could not maintain an army

A description of Rebat.

Why King Mansor built the Towne of Rebat upon the Sea shoare.

Royall for three or foure moneths in the Town of Ceuta, he caused this Town of Rebat in short space to be erected, & to be exceedingly beautified with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, Shops, Stoves, Hospitals, and other such buildings. Moreover, on the South side without the wals he caused a certaine high Tower like the Tower of Maroco to be built, saving that the winding staires were somewhat larger, insomuch that three horses a-breast might well ascend up: from the top whereof they might escry ships an huge way into the Sea. So exceeding is the height thereof, that I thinke there is no where the like building to be found. And to the end that greater store of Artificers and Merchants might hither from all places make resort, he appointed, that every man according to his trade and occupation should be allowed a yeerely stipend, whereupon it came to passe that within few moneths, this Towne was better stored with all kind of Artificers and Merchants, then in any Towne in all Africa besides, and that because they reaped a double gaine. Heere used Mansor with his Troupes to remaine from the beginning of Aprill, till the month of September. And whereas there was no water about the Town meet to be drunke (for the Sea runneth ten miles up into the River, and the wels likewise yeeld salt-water) Mansor caused fresh water to be conveied to the Towne by certaine Pipes and Channels, from a fountaine twelve miles distant. And the Conduits hee made arch-wise, like unto the Conduits of Italy in many places, and specially at Rome. So soone as the said water-conduit was derived unto the Towne, he caused it to be divided and sent into sundry places, as namely, some pipes thereof to the Temples, some to the Colledges, others to the Kings Palace, and the rest into the common Cisternes, throughout all the City. Howbeit after King Mansors death this Towne grew into such decay, that scarce the tenth part thereof now remaineth. The said notable water-conduit was utterly fordone in the warre betweene the Marin familie and the successors of Mansor.

Conduits of fresh water 12. miles.

Also King Mansor caused Sella to be walled round about, and built therein a faire Hospitall, & a stately Palace, into which his souldiers might at their pleasure retire themselves. Here likewise he erected a most beautifull Temple, wherein he caused a goodly Hall or Chappell to be set up, which was curiously carved, and had many faire windows about it: and in this Hall (when he perceived death to seaze upon him) he commanded his subjects to burie his corps. Which being done, they laid one Marble-stone over his head, and another over his feete, whereon sundry Epitaphes were engraven. After him likewise all the honourable personages of his family and blood, choose to be interred in the same Hall. And so did the Kings of the Marin family, so long as their Common-wealth prospered. My selfe on a time entring the same Hall, beheld there thirty Monuments of noble and great personages, and diligently wrote out all their Epitaphes: this I did in the yeere of the Hegeira nine hundred and fifteene.

Sella.

Where King Mansor was buried.

In Thagia is visited the Sepulchre of one accounted for a most holy man, who is reported in the time of Habdulmumen, to have wrought many miracles against the furie of Lions: whereupon he was reputed by many as a great Prophet. I remember that I read in a certaine writer of that Nation commonly called Etdedle, a whole Catalogue of the said holy mans miracles: which whether he wrought by Arte-magicke, or by some wonderfull secret of nature, it is altogether uncertaine. Howbeit his great fame and honourable reputation is the cause why this Towne is so well fraught with inhabitants. The people of Fez having solemnized their Easter, do yeerely frequent this Towne to visite the said Sepulchre, and that in such huge numbers, that you would esteeme them to be an whole armie; for every principall man carries his Tent and other necessaries with him: and so you shall see sometime an hundred Tents, and sometimes more in that company. Fifteene dayes they are in performing of that Pilgrimage; for Thagia standeth from Fez almost an hundred and

Sepulchre visited for feare of Lions.

Pilgrimage farre and frequent.

twenty miles. My selfe being a child, went thither on Pilgrimage oftentimes with my Father; as likewise being [II. vi. 784.] growen up to mans estate, I repaired thither as often, making supplication to bee delivered from the danger of Lions.

The Territory of Fez. Westward it beginneth at the River of Buragrag, and stretcheth Eastward to the river called Inaven: which two Rivers are almost a hundred miles distant asunder. **Or Cebu.* Northward it bordereth upon the River * Subu, and Southward upon the foote of Atlas. The soile both for abundance of Corne, Fruits, and Cattell seemeth to be inferiour to none other.

Sella. The buildings of Sella carry a shew of Antiquity on them, being Artificially carved and stately supported with Marble pillars. Their Temples are most beautifull, and their shops are built under large Porches. And at the end of every row of shops is an Arch, which (as they say) is to divide one occupation from another. And (to say all in a word) here is nothing wanting, which may be required either in a most honourable City, or a flourishing Common-wealth. Moreover hither resort all kind of Merchants, both Christians and others. Heere the Genowayes, Venetians, English and low Dutch used to *English traffique.* traffique. The grounds adjoyning upon this Towne are sandy: neither are they fit for Corne, but for Cotten-wooll in divers places very profitable. The inhabitants, divers of them doe weave most excellent Cotten. Heere likewise are made very fine Combes, which are sold in all the Kingdome of Fez, for the Region thereabout yeeldeth great plenty of Boxe, & of other wood fit for the same purpose. Their government is very orderly and discreet 1526. even untill this day: for they have most learned Judges, Umpires, and deciders of doubtfull cases in Law. This Towne is frequented by many rich Merchants of Genoa, whom the King hath alwayes had in great regard; because *The occasion of the bloody warres moved by Sahid.* he gaineth much yeerely by their traffique.

In the time of Abusaid the last King of the Marin family, his Cousin, called Sahid, was taken by Habdilla

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF FEZ

the King of Granada; whereupon by letters he requested his Cousin the King of Fez to send him a certaine summe of money, required by the King of Granada for his ransome. Which when the Fessan King refused to yeeld unto, Habdilla restored his prisoner to libertie, and sent him towards Fez to destroy both the City and the King. Afterward Sahid, with the helpe of certaine wilde Arabians besieged Fez for seven yeeres together; in which space most of the Townes, Villages, and Hamlets throughout the whole Kingdome were destroyed. But at length such a Pestilence invaded Sahids forces, that himselfe, with a great part of his army, in the * nine hundred and eighteenth yeere of the Hegeira, died thereof. Howbeit those desolate Towns never received from thenceforth any new inhabitants, especially Fanzara, which was given to certaine Arabian Captaines, that came to assist Sahid. Whatsoever commodity ariseth out of Banibasil redoundeth to the Priests of the principall Mahumetan Temple in Fez, and it amounteth almost yeerely to twenty thousand Dukats. Heere also in times past were most large, pleasant, and fruitfull Gardens, as appeareth by the Monuments and reliques thereof, howbeit, they were like other places, laid waste by the warre of Sahid. The Towne it selfe remaineth destitute of inhabitants an hundred and ten yeeres; but as the King of Fez returned home from Duccala, he commanded part of his people to inhabite the same: albeit their incivilitie made them loth so to doe.

The City of Fez besieged for seven yeers together.

**This number (as I take it) should rather be* 819.

Fez was built in the time of one Aron a Mahumetan Patriarke, in the yeere of the Hegeira one hundreth eighty and five, and in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred eightie sixe, by a certaine hereticke against the Religion of Mahumet. But why it should so be called, some are of opinion, because when the first foundations thereof were digged, there was found some quantity of Gold, which mettall in the Arabian language is called Fez.

Fez the principall City of all Barbarie, and of the founders thereof.

The Founder of this City was one Idris, being the foresaid Aron his neere kinsman. This Idris ought rather

Idris the first founder of Fez.

to have beene an Mahumetan Patriarke, because he was nephew unto Hali the Cousin-german of Mahumet, who married Falerna, Mahumets owne daughter, so that Idris both by Father and Mother was of Mahumets Linage: but Aron being nephew unto one Habbus the Uncle of Mahumet, was of kinred onely by the Fathers side. Howbeit both of them were excluded from the said Patriarkship for certaine causes mentioned in the African Chronicles, although Aron usurped the same by deceit. For Arons Uncle being a most cunning and crafty man, and faining himselfe to beare greatest favour unto the family of Hali, and to be most desirous, that the Patriarkship should light thereon, sent his Ambassadours almost throughout the whole world. Whereupon the dignity was translated from Umeve to Habdulla Seffec the first Patriarke. Which, Umeve being informed of, waged warre against the family of Hali, and so prevailed, that some of them he chased into Asia, and some into India. Howbeit, an ancient Religious man of the same family remained still alive at Elmadina, who being very old, no whit regarded the dignity. But this ancient sire left behind him two sonnes, who when they were come to mans estate, grew into so great favour with the people of Elmadin, that they were chased thence by their enemies; the one being taken and hanged; and the other (whose name was Idris) escaping into Mauritania. This Idris dwelling upon Mount Zaron, about thirtie miles from Fez, governed not onely the Common-wealth, but matters of Religion also: and all the Region adjacent paid him tribute. At length Idris deceasing without lawfull issue, left one of his maydes big with child, which had beene turned from the Gothes Religion to the Moores. Being delivered of her sonne, they called him after his Fathers name, Idris. This child the inhabitants chusing for their Prince, caused him to be most carefully brought up: and
[II. vi. 785.] as he grew in yeeres, to the end they might trayne him up in feates of Chivalrie, they appointed one Rasid a most valiant and skilfull Captaine to instruct him. Insomuch,

A.D. c. 1526.

that while hee was but fifteene yeeres of age, he grew famous for his valiant Acts and Stratagems, and beganne wonderfully to inlarge his Dominions. Wherefore his Troupes and Family increasing every day more and more, he set his minde upon building of a Citie, and changing of his habitation. And so hee sent for cunning builders into all Nations, who having diligently perused all places in the Region, at last made choise of that where the Citie of Fez now standeth. For heere they found great store of Fountaines, and a faire River, which springing forth of a plaine not farre off, runneth pleasantly almost eight miles amidst the little Hils, till at length it casteth it selfe upon another plaine. Southward of the place they found a wood, which they knew would be right commodious for the Towne. Here therefore upon the East banke of the said River, they built a Towne contayning three thousand Families: neither omitted they ought at all which might bee required in a flourishing Common-wealth. After the decease of Idris, his Sonne erected another Towne directly over against the foresaid, on the other side of the River. But in processe of time either Towne so increased, that there was but a small distance betweene them: for the Governours of each laboured might and mayne to augment their owne Jurisdictions. An hundred and fourescore yeeres after, there fell out great dissention and Civill warre betweene these two Cities, which by report continued an hundred yeeres together.

Idris his great valour at fifteene yeares of age.

At length Joseph King of Maroco of the Luntune Family, conducting an huge Armie against both these Princes, tooke them Prisoners, carryed them home unto his Dominions, and put them to a most cruell death. And he so vanquished the Citizens, that there were slaine of them thirtie thousand. Then determined King Joseph to reduce those two Townes into firme unitie and concord: for which cause, making a bridge over the River, and beating downe the wals of either Towne right against it, he united both into one, which afterward he divided into twelve Regions or Wards. Now let us make report

*1526. of all such memorable things as are there to bee seene * at this day.

A most exact description of the Citie of Fez.

A World it is to see, how large, how populous, how well fortified and walled this Citie is. The most part thereof standeth upon great and little Hils: neither is there any plaine ground but onely in the midst of the Citie. The River entreth the Towne in two places, for it is divided into a double branch, one whereof runneth by new Fez, that is, by the South-side of the Towne, and another commeth in at the West-side. And so almost infinitely dispersing it selfe into the Citie, it is derived by certaine conduits and chanels unto every Temple, Colledge, Inne, Hospitall, and almost to every private house. Unto the Temples are certaine square conduits adjoyned, having Cels and Receptacles round about them; each one of which hath a Cock, whereby water is conveyed through the wall into a Trough of Marble. From whence flowing into the Sinkes and Gutters, it carryeth away all the filth of the Citie into the River. In the midst of each square conduit standeth a low Cisterne, beeing three Cubits in depth, foure in breadth, and twelve in length: and the water is conveyed by certaine Pipes into the foresaid square conduits, which are almost an hundred and fiftie in number. The most part of the houses are built of fine brickes and stones curiously painted. Likewise their bay-windowes and portals are made of partie-coloured bricke, like unto the stones of Majorica. The Roofes of their Houses they adorne with Gold, Azure, and other excellent Colours, which Roofes are made of wood, and plaine on the top, to the end that in Summer-time Carpets may be spred upon them, for here they use to lodge by reason of the exceeding heate of that Countrey. Some houses are of two and some of three Stories high, whereunto they make fine staires, by which they passe from one roome to another under the same roofe: for the middle part of the house is alwayes open or uncovered, having some Chambers built on the one side, and some on the other. The Chamber doores are very high and wide: which in rich

mens houses are framed of excellent and carved wood. Each Chamber hath a Presse curiously painted and varnished belonging thereunto, being as long as the Chamber it selfe is broad: some will have it very high, and others but sixe handfuls in height, that they may set it on the Tester of a Bed. All the portals of their houses are supported with bricke Pillars finely playstered over, except some which stand upon Pillars of Marble. The Beames and Transomes upholding their Chambers are most curiously painted and carved. To some houses likewise belong certaine square Cisternes, contayning in breadth sixe or seven Cubits, in length ten or twelve, and in height but sixe or seven handfuls, being all uncovered, and built of brickes trimly playstered over. Along the sides of these Cisternes are certaine Cockes, which convay the water into Marble Troughs, as I have seene in many places of Europe. When the foresaid Conduits are full of water, that which floweth over, runneth by certaine secret pipes and conveyances into the Cisternes: and that which overfloweth the Cisternes, is carryed likewise by other passages into the common Sinkes and Gutters, and so into the River. The said Cisternes are alwayes kept sweete and cleane, neyther are they covered but onely in Summertime, when Men, Women, and Children bathe themselves therein.

Moreover, on the tops of their houses they usually build a Turret with many pleasant roomes therein, whither [II. vi. 786.] the women for recreations sake, when they are wearie of working, retyre themselves; from whence they may see wel-nigh all the Citie over.

The number and statelinesse of the Mahumetan Temples in Fez.

Of Mahumetan Temples and Oratories there are almost seven hundred in this Towne, fiftie whereof are most stately and sumptuously built, having their Conducts made of Marble and other excellent stones unknowne to the Italians; and the Chapiters of their Pillars be artificially adorned with painting and carving. The tops of these Temples, after the fashion of Christian Churches in Europe, are made of Joyses and Plankes: but the pave-

ment is covered with Mats which are so cunningly sowed together that a man cannot see the breadth of a finger uncovered. The wals likewise on the inner side are lined a mans height with such Mats. Moreover, each Temple hath a Turret or Steeple, from whence certaine are appointed with a lowd voice to call the people at their set-time of Prayer. Every Temple hath one onely Priest to say Service therein; who hath the bestowing of all Revenues belonging to his owne Temple, as occasion requireth: for thereby are maintayned Lampes to burne in the night, and Porters to keepe the doores are paid their wages out of it, and so likewise are they that call the people to ordinarie Prayers in the night season: for those which cry from the said Towres in the day time have no wages, but are onely released from all Tributes and Exactions.

The principall Temple of Fez called Caruven.

The chiefe Mahumetan Temple in this Towne is called Caruven, beeing of so incredible a bignesse, that the circuit thereof and of the buildings longing unto it, is a good mile and a halfe about. This Temple hath one and thirtie gates or portals of a wonderfull greatnesse and height. The Roofe of this Temple is in length one hundred and fiftie, and in breadth about fourescore Florentine Cubits. The Turret or Steeple, from whence they cry amayne to assemble the people together, is exceedingly high; the breadth whereof is supported with twentie, and the length with thirtie Pillars. On the East, West, and North-sides, it hath certaine Walkes or Galleries, fortie Cubits in length, and thirtie in breadth. Under which Galleries there is a Cell or Storehouse, wherein Oyle, Candles, Mats, and other such necessaries for the Temple are layd up. Every night in this Temple are burnt nine hundred Lights; for every arch hath a severall Lampe, especially those which extend through the mid-quire. Some Arches there are that have one hundred and twentie Candles a piece: there are likewise certaine Brasse Candlestickes so great and with so many Sockets, as they will hold each one fifteene hundred Candles: and these Candle-

A.D. c. 1526.

stickes are reported to have beene made of Bels, which the King of Fez in times past tooke from Christians.

Pulpits and Preaching.

About the wals of the said Temple are divers Pulpits, out of which those that are learned in the Mahumetan Law instruct the people. Their Winter Lectures beginne presently after Sunrise, and continue the space of an houre. But their Summer Lectures hold on from the Sunne going downe, till an houre and a halfe within night. And here they teach as well Morall Philosophie as the Law of Mahumet. The Summer Lectures are performed by certaine private and obscure persons; but in Winter such onely are admitted to read, as bee reputed their greatest Clerkes. All which Readers and Professours are yearely allowed most liberall Stipends. The Priest of this great Temple is enjoyned onely to read Prayers, and faithfully to distribute almes among the poore. Every Festivall day he bestoweth all such Corne and Money as he hath in his custodie, to all poore people according to their need.

The Treasuror or Collector of the Revenues of this Church hath every day a Duckat for his pay. Likewise he hath eight Notaries or Clerkes under him; every one of which gayneth sixe Duckats a moneth: and other sixe Clerkes who receive the rent of houses, shops, and other such places as belong to the Temple, having for their wages the twentieth part of all such Rents and Duties as they gather.

Moreover, there belong to this Temple twentie Factors or Baylies of Husbandry, that without the Citie wals have an eye to the Labourers, Ploughmen, Vine-planters, and Gardeners, and that provide them things necessarie: their gaine is three Duckats a moneth. Not farre from the Citie are about twentie Lime-kils, and as many Brickekils, serving for the reparation of their Temple, and of all houses thereto belonging.

The Revenues of the great Temple, and how they are bestowed.

The Revenues of the said Temple daily received, are two hundred Duckats a day; the better halfe whereof is layd out upon the particulars aforesaid. Also if there bee

any Temples in the Citie destitute of living, they must all be mayntayned at the charges of this great Temple: and then that which remayneth after all expenses, is bestowed for the behoofe of the Common-wealth: for the people receive no Revenues at all. In our time the King commanded the Priest of the said Temple to lend him an huge summe of money, which he never repayed againe.

Colledges of Fez. Moreover, in the Citie of Fez are two most stately Colledges, of which divers roomes are adorned with curious painting; all their beames are carved, their wals consisting both of Marble and Freestone. Some Colledges heere are which contayne an hundred studies, some more, and some fewer, all which were built by divers Kings of the Marin Family. One there is among the rest most beautifull and admirable to behold, which was erected by a certaine King called Habu Henon. Here is to be seene an excellent Fountaine of Marble, the Cisterne whereof contayneth two Pipes. Through this Colledge runneth [II. vi. 787.] a little streame in a most cleere and pleasant chanell, the brimmes and edges whereof are workmanly framed of Marble, and stones of Majorica. Likewise heere are three Cloysters to walke in, most curiously and artificially made, with certaine eight square Pillars of divers colours to support them. And betweene Pillar and Pillar the arches are beautifully over-cast with Gold, Azure, and divers other Colours; and the Roofe is very artificially built of wood. The sides of these Cloysters are so close, that they which are without cannot see such as walke within. The wals round about as high as a man can reach, are adorned with Playster-worke of Majorica. In many places you may find certaine Verses, which declare what yeare the Colledge was built in, together with many Epigrams in the Founders commendation. The Letters of which Verses are very great and black, so that they may be read a farre off. This Colledge gates are of Brasse most curiously carved, and so are the doores artificially made of wood. In the Chappell of this Colledge standeth a certaine Pulpit mounted nine stayres high, which staires

are of Ivorie and Ebonie. Some affirme, that the King having built this Colledge, was desirous to know how much money hee had spent in building it; but after he had perused a leafe or two of his Account-booke, finding the summe of fortie thousand Duckats, he rent it asunder, and threw it into the foresaid little River, adding this Sentence out of a certaine Arabian Writer: Each precious and amiable thing, though it costeth deare, yet if it be beautifull, it cannot choose but bee good cheape: neither is any thing of too high a price, which pleaseth a mans affection. Howbeit a certaine Treasurer of the Kings, making a particular account of all the said expenses, found that this excellent building stood his Master in foure hundred and eightie thousand Duckats. The other Colledges of Fez are somewhat like unto this, having every one Readers and Professors, some of which read in the forenoone, and some in the afternoone.

A Colledge cost 480000. *Duckats the building.*

In times past the Students of those Colledges had their apparell and victuals allowed them for seven yeares, but now they have nothing gratis but their Chamber.

For the warre of Sahid destroyed many possessions, whereby Learning was maintayned; so that now the greatest Colledge of all hath yeerely but two hundred, and the second but an hundred Duckats for the maintenance of their Professors. And this perhaps may bee one reason, among many, why the government not onely of Fez, but of all the Cities in Africa, is so base.

The suppression of Learning and learned men, a principal cause of disorderly and base government.

Now these Colledges are furnished with no Schollers but such as are strangers, and live of the Citie Almes: and if any Citizens dwell there, they are not above two or three at the most. The Professor being readie for his Lecture, some of his Auditors readeth a Text, whereupon the said Professor dilateth, and explayneth obscure and difficult places. Sometimes also the Schollers dispute before their Professor.

A description of the Hospitals and Bathes in in the Citie of Fez.

Many Hospitals there are in Fez, no whit inferiour, either for building or beautie, unto the foresaid Colledges.

For in them whatsoever strangers came to the Citie were entertayned at the common charge for three dayes together. There are likewise as faire and as stately Hospitals in the Suburbes. In times past their wealth was marvellous great; but in the time of Sahids warre, the King standing in need of a great summe of money, was counselled by some of his greedie Courtiers to sell the Livings of the said Hospitals. Which when the people would in no case yeeld unto, the Kings Oratour or Speaker, perswaded them that all those Livings were given by his Majesties Predecessours, and therefore (because when the warres were ended, they should soone recover all againe) that it were farre better for them by that meanes to pleasure their Soveraigne, then to let his Kingly Estate fall into so great danger. Whereupon all the said Livings being sold, the King was prevented by untimely and sudden death before he could bring his purpose to effect: and so these famous Hospitals were deprived of all their maintenance.

Livings belonging to Hospitals.

The poore indeed and impotent people of the Citie are at this day relieved; but no strangers are entertayned, save only learned men or Gentlemen. Howbeit there is another Hospitall for the reliefe of sicke and diseased strangers, who have their dyet onely allowed them, but no Physician or Medicine: certaine women there are which attend upon them, till they recover their former health, or dye. In this Hospitall likewise there is a place for frantike or distracted persons, where they are bound in strong Iron Chaines; whereof the part next unto their walkes is strengthened with mightie beames of Wood and Iron. The Governour of these distracted persons, when he bringeth them any sustenance, hath a Whip of purpose to chastise those that offer to bite, strike, or play any mad part.

Likewise this Hospitall hath many Roomes for the Purveyors, Notaries, Cookes, and other Officers belonging to the sicke persons; who each of them have some small yeerely stipend. Being a young man, I my selfe was

Notarie heere for two yeeres, which Office is worth three Duckats a moneth. *John Leo in his youth a Notary of an Hospitall for two yeeres together.*

In this Citie are moe then an hundred Bath-stoves very artificially and stately built; which though they bee not of equall bignesse, yet are they all of one fashion. Each Stove hath foure Halls, without which are certaine Galleries in an higher place, with five or sixe staires to ascend unto them: here men put off their apparell, and hence they goe naked into the Bath. In the midst they alwaies keepe a Cisterne full of water. First therefore, they that meane to bathe themselves, must passe through a cold Hall, where they use to temper hot water and cold together, then they goe into a roome somewhat hotter, where the servants clense and wash them; and last of all, they proceede into a third Hot-house, where they sweate as much as they thinke good. The fire that heateth their water is made of nought else but beasts dung: for which purpose many boyes are set on worke to run up and downe to Stables, and thence to carrie all the dung, and to lay it on heapes without the Towne-walles; which being parched in the Sunne for two or three moneths together, they use for fuell. Likewise, the women have their Stoves apart from the men. And yet some Hot-houses serve both for men and women, but at sundrie times, namely, for men from the third to the fourteenth houre of the day, and the residue for women. While women are bathing themselves, they hang out a rope at the first entrance of the house, which is a signe for men, that they may then proceede no farther. Neither may husbands here be permitted to speake with their owne wives; so great a regard they have of their honestie. Here men and women both, after they have done bathing, use to banquet and make merrie with pleasant Musicke and singing. Young Striplings enter the Bath starke naked without any shame, but men cover their privities with a linnen cloth. The richer sort will not enter the common Bath, but that which is adorned and finely set forth, and which serveth for Noble-men and Gentle-men. When any one is to be

Their Bathes and bathing.

[II. vi. 788.]

Womens Bathes.

bathed, they lay him along upon the ground, anointing him with a certaine oyntment, and with certaine instruments doing away his filth. The richer sort have a Carpet to lie on, their head lying on a woodden Cushion, covered with the same Carpet. Likewise, here are many Barbers and Chyrurgions which attend to doe their office.

Revenues to the Temple. The most part of these Baths pertaine to the Temples and Colledges, yeelding unto them a great summe of money for yearely rent: for some give an hundred, some an hundred and fiftie Duckats a yeare. Neither must I here omit the Festivall-day which the Servants and Officers of the Bathes celebrate; who with Trumpets and Pipes calling their friends together, goe forth of the Towne, and there gather a wild Onion, putting it in a certaine brazen vessell, and covering the same with a linnen cloth wet in Lee: afterward with a great noise of Trumpets and Pipes, they solemnely bring the said Onion unto the Hot-house doore, and there they hang it up in the little brazen vessell or Laver, saying, That this is a most happy boading, or signe of good luck unto their Stove. Howbeit, I suppose it to be some such Sacrifice, as the ancient Moores were wont in times past, when they were destitute of Lawes and civilitie, to offer, and that the same custom hath remained till this very day. The like is to be seene even among Christians, who celebrate many Feasts, whereof they can yeeld no reason. Likewise, every African towne had their peculiar Feast, which, when the Christians once enjoyed Africa, were utterly abolished and done away.

The Innes of Fez. In this Citie are almost two hundred Innes, the greatest whereof are in the principall part of the Citie neere unto the chiefe Temple. Every of these Innes are three stories high, and containe an hundred and twenty, or moe Chambers apiece. Likewise, each one hath a Fountaine, together with Sinks and Water-pipes, which make avoidance of all the filth. Never, to my remembrance, did I see greater building, except it were the Spanish Colledge at Bologna, or the Pallace of the Cardinall di

San Giorgio at Rome; of which Innes all the Chamber-doores have Walkes or Galleries before them. And albeit the Innes of this Citie are very faire and large, yet they affoord most beggerly entertainement to strangers; for there are neither Beds nor Couches for a man to lie upon, unlesse it be a course Blanket and a Mat. And if you will have any victuals, you must goe to the Shambles your selfe, and buy such meate for your Host to dresse, as your stomack stands-to. In these Innes certaine poore Widdowes of Fez, which have neither wealth nor friends to succour them, are relieved: sometimes one, and sometimes two of them together are allowed a Chamber; for which courtesie they play both the Chamberlaines and Cookes of the Inne. The Inne-keepers of Fez being all of one Family, called Elcheua, goe apparelled like Women, and shave their Beards, and are so delighted to immitate Women, that they will not onely counterfeite their speech, but will sometimes also sit downe and spin. Each one of these hath his Concubine, whom hee accompanieth as if she were his owne lawfull Wife; albeit the said Concubines are not onely ill-favoured in countenance, but notorious for their bad life and behavior. They buy and sell wine so freely, that no man controles them for it. None resort hither but most lewd and wicked people, to the end they may more boldly commit vilany. The very company of these Inne-keepers is so odious, and detestable in the sight of all honest men, learned men, and Merchants, that they will in no wise vouchsafe to speake unto them. And they are firmely enjoyned not to enter into the Temple, into the Burse, nor into any Bath. Neither yet are they permitted to resort unto those Innes which are next unto the great Temple, and wherein Merchants are usually entertained.

In this Citie are Mills in foure hundred places at least. And every of these places containeth five or sixe Mills; so that there are some thousands of Mills in the whole City. Every Mill standeth in a large roome upon some strong pillar or post, whereunto many Country-people

The mills of Fez.

Like unto our Horse-mills.

use to resort. All the said Mills pertaine either to the Temples or Colledges.

A discription of the Occupations, the Shops, and the Market. [II. vi. 789.]

Each trade or occupation hath a peculiar place allotted thereto, the principall whereof are next unto the great Temple: for there first you may behold to the number of fourescore Notaries or Scriveners shops, whereof some joyne upon the Temple, and the residue stand over against them: every of which Shops hath alwaies two Notaries.

Scriveners.

Booksellers.

Then Westward there are about thirtie Stationers or Booke-sellers.

Shoo-merchants.

The Shoo-merchants which buy Shooes and Buskins of the Shoo-makers, and sell them againe to the Citizens, inhabite on the Southside of the Temple: and next unto them, such as make Shooes for children onely, their Shops being about fiftie.

Brasiers.

On the East-side dwell those that sell vessels, and other commodities made of brasse.

Fruiterers.

Over against the great Gate of the said Temple stands the Fruit-market, containing fiftie Shops, where no kind of fruit is wanting. Next unto them stand the Waxe-merchants, very ingenious and cunning workmen, and much to be admired. Here are Merchants factors likewise, though they bee but few.

Herb-women.

Then followes the Herbe-market, wherein the Pome-citrons, and divers kinds of greene Boughes and Herbes doe represent the sweete and flourishing Spring, and in this Market are

Taverns.

about twenty Tavernes: for they which drinke Wine, will shrowd themselves under the shadie and pleasant Boughes.

Milk-sellers.

Next unto them stand the Milke-sellers: I thinke there passeth scarce one day over their heads, wherein they utter not five and twentie tunnes of Milke.

Cotton-sellers.

Next unto these are such as sell Cotton, and they have about thirtie

Rope-sellers.

shops: then follow those that sell Hempe, Ropes, Halters, and such other hempen commodities.

Girdlers.

Then come you to the Girdlers, and such as make Pantofles, and Leather-bridles embrodered with silke: next their shops adjoyne that make Sword-scabberds, and Caparisons for Horses.

Salters.

Immediately after dwell those that sell Salt and Lime;

Potters.

and upon them border an hundred Shops of Potters, who frame al kind of earthen vessels adorned with divers

colours. Then come you to the Sadlers Shops: and next of all to the streete of Porters, who (as I suppose) are above three hundred: these Porters have a Consull or Governour, who every weeke allotteth unto part of them some set businesse. The gaine which redoundeth thereof, they put into a Coffer, dividing it at the weekes end among them, which have wrought the same weeke. Strange it is to consider how exceedingly these Porters love one another: for when any of them deceaseth, the whole company maintaineth his widow and fatherlesse children at their common charge, till either she die, or marrieth a new Husband. The children they carefully bring up, till they have attained to some good Art or occupation. Next unto the Porters companie dwell the chiefe Cookes and Victuallers. Here also stands a certaine square house covered with Reed, wherein Pease and Turnep-rootes are to bee sold, which are so greatly esteemed of in Fez, that none may buy them of the country people at the first hand, but such as are appointed, who are bound to pay tole & tribute unto the Customers: and scarcely one day passeth, wherein more then five hundred sacks of Pease and Turneps are not sold. On the North-side of the Temple is a place whither all kind of Hearbs are brought to make Sallets withall: for which purpose there is fortie Shops appointed. Next whereunto is the place of Smoke, so called, by reason of continuall smoke: here are certaine Fritters or Cakes fried in Oyle, like unto such as are called at Rome, Pan Melato. They roste their flesh not upon a spit, but in an Oven: for making two Ovens one over another for the same purpose, in the lower they kindle a fire, putting the flesh into the upper Oven when it is well het; you would not beleeve how finely their meat is thus rosted; for it cannot be spoiled either by smoke or too much heate: for they are all night rosting it by a gentle fire, and in the morning they set it to sale. The foresaid Steakes and Fritters they sell unto the Citizens in so great abundance, that they daily take for them moe then two hundred Ducats; for there are fifteene

Sadlers.

The Porters of Fez.

Cookes.

Pease and Turneps.

Sallet-Shops.

Fritterers.

Rosting in Ovens.

Shops which sell nothing else. Likewise, here are sold certaine Fishes and flesh fried, and a kind of excellent savorie bread, tasting somewhat like a Fritter; which being baked with Butter, they never eate but with Butter and Honie. Here also are the feete of certaine beasts sodden, wherewith the Husbandmen betimes in the morning breake their fast, and then hie them to their labour. Next unto these are such as sell Oyle, Salt, Butter, Cheese, Olives, Pome-citrons and Capers: their shops are full of fine earthen vessels; which are of much greater value then the things contained in them. Then follow the Shambles, consisting of about forty Shops, wherein the Butchers cut their flesh a pieces, and sell it by weight. They kill no beasts within the Shambles, for there is a place allotted for this purpose neere unto the River, where having once dressed their flesh, they send it to the Shambles by certaine servants appointed for that end. But before any Butcher dare sell his flesh unto the Citizens, he must carrie it to the Governour of the Shambles, who so soone as he seeth the flesh, he sets downe in a piece of paper the price thereof, which they shew together with their meate unto the people; neither may they in any case exceed the said price. Next unto the Shambles standeth the Market where course cloathes are sold, which containeth at least an hundred Shops: the said cloth is delivered unto certaine Criers (which are about threescore in number) who carrying the cloth from Shop to Shop, tell the price thereof. Then follow their Shops that scowre and sell Armour, Swords, Javelings, and such like warlike instruments. Next unto them stand the Fishmongers, who sell most excellent and great Fish. Next unto the Fishmongers dwel such as make of a certaine hard Reed, Coopes and Cages for Fowles; their Shops being about fortie in number: for each of the Citizens useth to bring up great store of Hennes and Capons. And that their houses may not be defiled with Hennes-dung, they keepe them continually in Coopes and Cages. Then follow their Shops that sell liquide Sope. Next of

Tripe-wives.

Victualers.

Shambles.

The Governor of the Shambles in Fez.

Course cloth.

Armorers.

Fishmongers.

Casge-maker.

[II. vi. 790.]

Sopers.

all are certaine of their Shops that sell Meale, albeit they are diversly dispersed throughout the whole Citie. Next unto them are such as sell Seede-graine and Seede-pulse. Then are there tenne Shops of them that sell Straw. Next them is the Market where Thread and Hempe is to be sold, and where Hempe useth to bee kempt: which place is built after the fashion of great Houses, with foure Galleries, or spare-roomes round about it: in the first whereof they sell Linnen-cloth, and weigh Hempe: in two other sit a great many women, having abundance of sale-thread, which is there sold by the Criers. *Mealemen.*

Let us now come to the West part, which stretcheth from the Temple to that Gate that leadeth to Mecnase. Next unto the Smokie place before mentioned, their habitations directly stand, that make Leather-tankards to draw water out of Wells, of whom there are some foureteene Shops. Unto these adjoyne such as make Wicker-vessels, and other, to lay up Meale and Corne in: and these enjoy about thirty Shops. Next them are one hundred and fifty Shops of Taylors. And next the Taylors are those that make Leather-shields, such as I have often seene brought into Europe. Then follow twenty Shops of Landresses or Washers, being people of a base condition; to whom the Citizens that have not Maids of their owne, carry their Shirts and other foule linnen, which after few dayes are restored unto them so cleane and white, as it is wonderfull. These Landresses have divers Shops adjoyning together in the same place: but here and there throughout the Citie are above two hundred Families of such persons. Next unto the Landresses are those that make Trees for Saddles; who dwell likewise in great numbers Eastward right in the way to the Colledge founded by King Abuhinan. Upon these adjoyne about fortie shops of such as worke Stirrops, Spurres, and Bridles, so artificially, as I thinke the like are not to be seene in Europe. Next standeth their streete, that first rudely make the said Stirrops, Bridles and Spurres. From thence you may goe into the streete of Sadlers, which cover the *Tankarters.* *Taylors.* *Landerers.* *Spurres, &c.*

Saddles before mentioned threefold with most excellent Leather: the best Leather they lay uppermost, and the worst beneath, and that with notable Workmanship, as may bee seene in most places of Italy: and of them there are moe then an hundred Shops. Then follow their long Shops that make Pikes and Launces. Next standeth a Rocke or Mount, having two Walkes thereupon; the one whereof leadeth to the East-gate, and the other to one of the Kings Palaces, where the Kings Sisters, or some other of his Kindred are usually kept. But this is by the way to be noted, that all the foresaid Shops, or Market, begin at the great Temple.

Of the Station or Burse of Merchants in Fez.

The Burse you may well call a Citie, which being walled round about, hath twelve Gates, and before every gate an Iron-chaine, to keepe Horses and Carts from comming in. The said Burse is divided into twelve severall Wards or parts: two whereof are allotted unto such Shoo-makers as make Shooes onely for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and two also to Silke-merchants, or Haberdashers, that sell Ribands, Garters, Scarfes, and such other like ornaments; and of these there are about fiftie Shops. Others there are that sell Silke onely for the embrodering of Shirts, Cushions, and other such furniture made of Cloth, possessing almost as many Shops as the former. Then follow those that make Womens Girdles of course Wooll (which some make of Silke) but very grossely, for I thinke they are moe then two fingers thicke, so that they may serve almost for Cables to a Ship. Next unto these Girdlers are such as sell Woollen and Linnen-cloth brought out of Europe: which have also Silke-stuffes, Caps, and other like commodities to sell. Having passed these, you come to them that sell Mats, Mattrasses, Cushions, and other things made of Leather. Next adjoyneth the Customers Office; for their Cloth is sent about by certaine Criers to be sold, who before they can passe, must goe to the Customers to have the said Cloth sealed, and to pay Toll unto the Customers. Criers here are to the number of sixtie, which for the crying of every Cloth have one * Liardo

*Or Baioco.

allowed them. Next of all dwell the Taylors, and that in three severall streetes. Then come you to the Linnen-drapers, which sell Smocks and other apparell for women: and these are accounted the richest Merchants in all Fez, for their wares are the most gainefull of all others. Next unto these are certaine Woollen garments to be sold, made of such Cloth as is brought thither out of Europe. Every after-noone Cloth is sold in this place by the Criers, which is lawfull for any man to doe, when necessary occasion urgeth him. Last of all is that place where they use to sell wrought Shirts, Towels, and other embrodered works; as also where Carpets, Beds, and Blankets are to be sold.

Of the Grocers, Apothecaries, and other Tradesmen and Artizans of Fez.

Next unto the said Burse, on the Northside, in a streight lane, stand an hundred and fifty Grocers and Apothecaries Shops, which are fortified on both sides with two strong Gates. These Shops are garded in the night-season by certaine hired and armed Watchmen, which keep their station with Lanthornes and Mastives. The said Apothecaries can make neither Sirrups, Oyntments, nor Electuaries: but such things are made at home by the Physicians, and are of them to be bought. The Physitians houses adjoyne for the most part unto the Apothecaries: howbeit, very few of the people know either the Physician, or the use of his Physick. The Shops here are so artificially built and adorned, that the like (I thinke) are no where else to be found. Being in Tauris, a Citie of Persia, I remember that I saw divers stately Shops curiously built under certaine Galleries, but very darke, so that (in my judgement) they be far inferiour unto the Shops of Fez. Next the Apothecaries are certaine Artificers that makes Combes of Boxe and other wood. Eastward of the Apothecaries dwell the Needle-makers, possessing to the number of fifty shops. Then follow those that turne Ivory, and such other matter, who (because their craft is practised by some other Artizans) are but few in number. Unto the Turners adjoyne certaine that sell Meale, Sope, and Broomes: who dwelling next

John Leo was at Tauris in Persia.

[II. vi. 791.]

Comb makers.

Turners.

unto the Thread-market before mentioned, are scarce twenty shops in all: for the residue are dispersed in other places of the City, as we will hereafter declare. Amongst *Upholsters.* the Cotten-merchants are certaine that sell ornaments for *Poulters.* Tents and Beds. Next of all stand the Fowlers, who, though they be but few, yet are they stored with all kind of choice and dainty Fowles: whereupon the place is called the Fowlers market. Then come you to their shops that sell Cords and Ropes of Hempe: and then to such as *Corkslippers.* make high Coorke-slippers for Noblemen and Gentlemen to walk the streets in, when it is foule weather: these Corke-slippers are finely trimmed with much silke, and most excellent upper leathers, so that the cheapest will cost a Ducat, yea some there are of ten Ducats, & some of five and twenty Ducats price. Such slippers as are accounted most fine and costly are made of blacke and white Mulberie-tree, of blacke Walnut-tree, and of the Jujuba tree, albeit the Corke-slippers are the most durable and strong. Unto these adjoyne ten shops of Spanish *Crosse-bowes.* Moores, which make Crosse-bowes: as also those that make Broomes of a certaine wilde Palme-tree, such as are *Broome-men.* dayly brought out of Sicilie to Rome. These Broomes they carry about the City in a great basket, either selling them, or exchanging them for Bran, Ashes, or old Shooes: the Bran they sell againe to Shepheards, the Ashes to such as white Thread, and old Shooes to Coblers. Next unto *Smithes.* them are Smithes that make Nailes; & Coopers which *Coopers.* make certain great vessels in forme of a bucket, having Corne-measures to sell also: which measures, when the Officer, appointed for the same purpose, hath made triall of, he is to receive a farthing a-peece for his fee. Then follow *Woolmen.* the Wooll-chapmen, who having bought wooll of the Butchers, put it foorth unto others to be scowred and washed: the Sheepe-skinnes they themselves dresse: but as for Oxe-hides they belong to another occupation, and are tanned in another place. Unto these adjoyne such as make certaine Langols or Withs, which the Africans put upon their horses feet. Next of all are the Brasiers: then

such as make Weights and Measures; and those likewise that make instruments to carde Wooll or Flaxe. At length you descend into a long street, where men of divers occupations dwell together, some of which doe polish and enamell Stirops, Spurres, and other such commodities, as they receive from the Smithes roughly and rudely hammered. Next whom dwell certaine Cart-wrights, Plow-wrights, Mill-wrights, and of other like occupations. Diers have their aboad by the Rivers side, and have each of them a most cleere Fountaine or Cisterne to wash their Silke-stuffes in. Over against the Diers dwell makers of Bulwarkes or Trenches, in a very large place, which being planted with shady Mulberrie-trees is exceeding pleasant in the Summer time. Next them are a company of Farriers, that shooe Mules and Horses: and then those that make the Iron-worke of Crosse-bowes. Then follow Smithes that make Horse-shooes; and last of all, those that white Linnen-cloth: and here the west part of the City endeth, which in times past (as is aforesaid) was a City by it selfe, and was built after the City on the East side of the River.

Weights and Measures.

Enamellers.

Fabri.

Diers.

Farriers.

Whitsters.

The second part of Fez situate Eastward, is beautified with most stately Palaces, Temples, Houses, and Colledges; albeit there are not so many trades and occupations as in the part before described. For here are neither Merchants, Taylors, Shoo makers, &c. but of the meaner sort. Heere are notwithstanding thirty shops of Grocers. Neere unto the walles dwell certaine Bricke-burners and Potters: and not farre from thence is a great Market of white Earthen Vessels, Platters, Cups and Dishes. Next of all stands the Corne-market, wherein are divers Granaries to lay up Corne. Over against the great Temple there is a broad street paved with Brick, round about which divers handi-crafts and occupations are exercised. There are likewise many other trades diversly dispersed over this East part of the City. The Drapers and Grocers have certaine peculiar places allotted unto them. In the East part of Fez likewise there are five hundred

A Description of the second part of Fez.

Grocers.

Earthen vessels.

Corn-market.

Drapers.

and twenty Weavers houses, very stately and sumptuously built: having in each of them many worke-houses and Loomes, which yeeld great rent unto the owners.

Weavers. Weavers there are (by report) in this City twenty thou-

Millers. sand, and as many Millers. Moreover, in this part of Fez are an hundred shops for the whiting of thread; the principall whereof being situate upon the River, are exceedingly well furnished with Kettles, Cauldrons, and other such vessels: here are likewise many great houses

Sawyers. to sawe wood in, which worke is performed by Christian captives, and whatsoever wages they earne, redoundeth

Christian captives slavery. unto their Lords and Masters. These Christian captives are not suffered to rest from their labours, but onely upon Fridayes, and upon eight severall dayes of the yeere besides, whereon the Moores feasts are solemnized.

Stewes. Heere also are the common stewes for Harlots, which are favoured by great men, and sometime by the chiefe Governours of the City. Likewise there are certaine

Vintners. Vintners, who are freely permitted to keepe Harlots, and to take filthie hire for them. Heere are also moe then

Fountaines 600. sixe hundred cleere Fountaines walled round about and most charily kept, every one of which is severally conveyed by certaine pipes unto each House, Temple, Colledge, and Hospitall: and this Fountaine water is

[II. vi. 792.] accounted the best: for that which commeth out of the

Rivers dried up in Summer. River is in Summer oftentimes dried up: as likewise when the Conduits are to be clensed, the course of the River must of necessitie bee turned out of the City. Wherefore every family useth to fetch water out of the said Fountaines, and albeit in Summer-time the chiefe Gentlemen use River-water, yet they will often call for Fountaine-water, because it is more coole and pleasant in taste. But in the Spring-time it is nothing so. These Fountaines have their Originall for the most part from the West and South, for the North part is all full of Mountaines and Marble Rockes, containing certaine Caves or Cels, wherein Corne may be kept for many yeeres; of which Caves some are so large, that they will hold two hundred

bushels of Corne. The Citizens dwelling neere those Caves, and such as possesse them do sufficiently maintaine themselves in taking yeerely every hundred bushell for rent. The South part of East Fez is almost halfe destitute of Inhabitants; howbeit the gardens abound with Fruits and Flowres of all sorts. Every Garden hath an house belonging thereunto, and a Christall-fountaine environed with Roses, and other odoriferous Flowres and Herbes; so that in the Spring-time a man may both satisfie his eyes, and solace his mind in visiting this part of the City: and well it may be called a Paradise, sithence the Noblemen doe here reside from the moneth of Aprill till the end of September. Westward, that is, toward the Kings Palace, standeth a Castle built by a King of the Luntune Familie, resembling in bignesse an whole towne: wherein the Kings of Fez, before the said Palace was built, kept their Royall residence. But after new Fez began to be built by the Marin Kings, the said Castle was left onely to the Governor of the City. Within this Castle stands a stately Temple built (as aforesaid) what time it was inhabited by Princes and Nobles, many places being afterward defaced and turned into Gardens: howbeit certaine houses were left unto the Governour, partly to dwell in, and partly for the deciding of controversies. Heere is likewise a certaine Prison for captives supported with many pillars, and being so large, that it will hold (as divers are of opinion) three thousand men. Neither are there any severall roomes in this prison: for at Fez one prison serveth for all. By this Castle runneth a certaine River very commodious for the Governour.

Gardens.

Kings Palaces.

Prison.

In the City of Fez are certaine particular Judges and Magistrates: and there is a Governour that defineth civill controversies, and giveth sentence against Malefactors. Likewise there is a Judge of the Canon Law, who hath to doe with all matters concerning the Mahumetan Religion. A third Judge there is also, that dealeth about marriages and divorcements, whose authoritie is to heare all witnesses, and to give sentence accordingly.

Of the Magistrates, the administration of Justice, and of the apparell used in Fez.

Next unto them is the high Advocate, unto whom they appeale from the sentence of the said Judges, when as they doe either mistake themselves, or doe ground their sentence upon the authoritie of some inferiour Doctor. The Governour gaineth a great summe of money by condemning of parties at severall times. Their manner of proceeding against a Malefactor is this: having given him an hundred or two hundred stripes before the Governour, the Executioner putteth an Iron-chaine about his necke, and so leadeth him starke-naked (his privities onely excepted) through all parts of the City: after the Executioner followes a Serjeant, declaring unto all the people what fact the guilty person hath committed, till at length having put on his apparell againe, they carry him backe to prison. Sometimes it falleth out that many offenders chained together are led about the Citie: and the Governour for each Malefactor thus punished, receiveth one Ducat and one fourth part; and likewise at their first entrance into the Gaole, he demands of each one a certaine duety, which is paid particularly unto him by divers Merchants and Artificers appointed of purpose. And amongst his other livings, he gathered out of a certaine Mountaine seven thousand Ducats of yeerely Revenue: so that when occasion serveth, he is at his proper costes to finde the King of Fez three hundred horses, and to give them their pay.

The punishment of malefactors in Fez.

Those which follow the Canon law have neither stipend nor reward allowed them: for it is forbidden by the Law of Mahumet, that the Judges of his Religion should reape any commoditie or Fees by their Office; but that they should live onely by reading of Lectures, and by their Priesthood. In this faculty are many Advocates and Proctors, which are extreme idiots, and utterly voyd of all good learning. There is a place also in Fez whereinto the Judges use to cast the Citizens for debt, or for some light offence. In all this City are foure Officers or Serjeants onely; who from midnight till two a clocke in the morning doe walke about all parts of the Citie; neither

No Officer by Mahumets Law to have Fees.

Unlearned Lawyers.

But foure Serjeants in Fez: and those baudy Knaves.

have they any stipend, but a certaine Fee of such Malefactors as they lead about in chaines, according to the qualitie of every mans crime; moreover, they are freely permitted to sell Wine, and to keepe Harlots. The said Governour hath neither Scribes nor Notaries, but pronounceth all sentences by word of mouth. One onely there is that gathereth Customes and Tributes over all the City, who daily payeth to the Kings use thirty Ducats. This man appointeth certaine substitutes to watch at every Gate, where nothing, be it of never so small value, can passe before some Tribute be paid. Yea, sometime they goe foorth of the City to meet with the Carriers & Muliters upon the high wayes, to the end they may not conceale nor closely convey any merchandize into the City. And if they be taken in any deceit, they pay double. The set order or proportion of their Custome is this, namely, to pay two Ducats for the worth of an hundred: for Onix-stones, which are brought hither in great plentie, they pay one fourth part: but for Wood, Corne, Oxen, & Hens, they give nothing at all. The said Governor of the Shambles hath alwaies twelve men wayting upon him, and oftentimes hee rideth about the Citie to examine the weight of bread, and finding any bread to faile of the duewaight, he causeth the Baker to be beaten with cudgels, and to bee led in contempt up and downe the Citie.

No Notaries.

Tribute, Searchers & excise.

Two per cento Custome.

[II. vi. 793.]

The Citizens of Fez goe very civilly and decently attyred, in the Spring time wearing Garments made of out-landish cloth: over their Shirts they weare a Jacket or Cassock beeing narrow and halfe-sleeved, whereupon they weare a certayne wide Garment, close before on the brest. Their Caps are thinne and single, like unto the Night-caps used in Italie, saving that they cover not their eares: these Caps are covered with a certaine Skarfe, which beeing twice wreathed about their head and beard, hangeth by a knot. They weare neither Hose nor Breeches, but in the Spring time when they ride a Journey, they put on Boots: many of the poorer sort have onely their Cassocke, and a Mantle over that called, * Barnussi, and a most course

Their apparel.

**Or Ilbernus.*

Cap. The Doctors and ancient Gentlemen weare a certayne Garment with wide sleeves, somewhat like to the Gentlemen of Venice. The common sort of people are for the most part clad in a kind of course white cloth. The women are not altogether unseemely apparelled, but in Summer time they weare nothing save their Smockes onely. In Winter they weare such a wide sleeved Garment, being close at the brest, as that of the men before mentioned. When they goe abroad, they put on certaine long Breeches, wherewith their legges are all covered, having also, after the fashion of Syria, a Veile hanging downe from their heads, which covereth their whole bodies. On their faces likewise they weare a Maske with two little holes, onely for their eyes to peepe out at. Their eares they adorne with golden Eare-rings, and with most precious Jewels: the meaner sort weare Eare-rings of Silver and gilt only. Upon their armes the Ladies and Gentlewomen weare golden Braclets, and the residue Silver, as likewise Gold or Silver-rings upon their legs, according to each ones estate and abilitie.

Their manner of eating and drinking.

Let us now speake somewhat of their victuals and manner of eating. The common sort set on the pot with fresh meate twice every weeke: but the Gentlemen and richer sort every day, and as often as they list. They take three meales a day: their Break-fast consisteth of certaine Fruits and Bread, or else of a kind of liquid Pap made like unto Frumentie: in Winter they sup off the Broth of salt flesh thickned with course meale. To dinner they have Flesh, Sallets, Cheese, and Olives: but in Summer they have greater cheere. Their Supper is easie of digestion, consisting of Bread, Melons, Grapes, or Milke: but in Winter they have sodden flesh, together with a kind of meate called Cuscusu, which being made of a lumpe of Dow is set first upon the fire in certaine Vessels full of holes, and afterward is tempered with Butter and Pottage. Some also use often to have Rostemeat. And thus you see after what sort both the Gentlemen and common people lead their lives: albeit the

A kind of meat called Cuscusu.

Noblemen fare somewhat more daintily: but if you compare them with the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Europe, they may seeme to be miserable and base fellowes; not for any want or scarcitie of victuals, but for want of good manners and cleanlinesse. The Table whereat they sit is low, uncovered, and filthy: seates they have none but the bare ground, neyther Knives or Spoones but only their ten Talons. The said Cuscusu is set before them all in one only Platter, whereout as well Gentlemen as others take it not with Spoones, but with their Clawes five. The meate and pottage is put all in one Dish; out of which every one raketh with his greasie fists what hee thinkes good: you shall never see Knife upon the Table, but they teare and greedily devoure their meate like hungry Dogges. Neyther doth any of them desire to drinke before he hath well stuffed his panch; and then will he sup off a cup of cold water as bigge as a Milke-bowle. The Doctors indeed are somewhat more orderly at meales: but, to tell you the very truth, in all Italie there is no Gentleman so meane, which for fine Dyet and stately Furniture excelleth not the greatest Potentates and Lords of all Africa.

The manner of solemnizing Marriages.

As touching their Marriages, they observe these courses following. So soone as the Maydes Father hath espoused her unto her Lover, they goe forth-with like Bride and Bridegroome to Church, accompanyed with their Parents and Kinsfolkes, and call likewise two Notaries with them, to make record before all that are present of the Covenants and Dowrie. The meaner sort of people usually give for their Daughters Dowrie thirtie Duckats and a woman-slave of fifteen Duckats price; as likewise a parti-coloured Garment embroydered with Silke and certaine other Silke Skarfes, or Jags, to weare upon her head in stead of a Hood or Veile; then a paire of fine Shooes, and two excellent paire of Startups; and lastly, many prettie Knackes curiously made of Silver and other Metals, as namely, Combes, Perfuming-pans, Bellowes, and such other Trinkets as Women have in estimation. Which

Portion and household stuffe.

beeing done, all the Ghests present are invited to a Banquet, whereunto for great Dainties is brought a kind of Bread fryed and tempered with Honey, which we have before described; then they bring Rost-meat to the boord, all this being at the Bridegroomes cost: afterward the Brides Father maketh a Banquet in like sort. Who if he bestow on his Daughter some apparell besides her Dowrie, it is accounted a point of liberalitie. And albeit the Father promiseth but thirtie Duckats onely for a Dowrie, yet will he sometimes bestow, in apparell and other Ornaments belonging to Women, two hundred, yea sometimes three hundred Duckats besides. But they seldome give an House, a Vineyard, or a field for a Dowrie. Moreover upon the Bride they bestow three Gownes made of costly cloth; and three others of Silke Chamlet, or of some other excellent Stuffe. They give her Smockes likewise curiously wrought, with fine Veiles, and other embroydered Vestures; as also Pillowes and Cushions of the best sort. And besides all the former gifts, they bestow eight Carpets or Coverlets on the Bride, foure whereof are onely for seemelinesse to spread upon their Presses and Cupboords: two of the courser they use for their Beds; and the other two of Leather to lay upon the floore of their Bedchambers. Also they have certaine Rugs of about twentie els compasse or length; as likewise three Quilts beeing made of Linnen and Woollen on the one side, and stuffed with flocks on the other side, which they use in the night in manner following. With the one halfe they cover themselves, and the other halfe they lay under them: which they may easily doe, when as they are both waies about ten ells long. Unto the former they adde as many Coverlets of Silke very curiously embroydered on the upper-side, and beneath lined double with Linnen and Cotton. They bestow likewise white Coverlets to use in Summer-time onely: and lastly, they bestow a Woollen hanging divided into many parts, and finely wrought, as namely, with certaine pieces of gilt Leather; whereupon they sowe Jags of partie-coloured Silke, and upon every

[II. vi. 794.]

Jagge a little Ball or Button of Silke, whereby the said hanging may for Ornaments sake bee fastened unto a wall.

Here you see what be the Appurtenances of their Dowries; wherein some doe strive so much to excell others, that oftentimes many Gentlemen have brought themselves unto Poverty thereby. Some Italians thinke that the Husband bestowes a Dowrie upon his Wife; but they altogether mistake the matter. *Italians mistaken.*

The Bridegroome being readie to carry home his Bride, causeth her to be placed in a woodden Cage or Cabinet eight square covered with Silke, in which shee is carryed by Porters, her Parents and Kinsfolkes following, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Pipes, and Drummes, and with a number of Torches; the Bridegroomes Kinsmen goe before with Torches, and the Brides Kinsfolkes follow after: and so they goe unto the great Market place, and having passed by the Temple, the Bridegroome takes his leave of his Father-in-law and the rest, hying him home with all speed, and in his Chamber expecting the presence of his Spouse. The Father, Brother, and Uncle of the Bride leade her unto the Chamber-doore, and there deliver her with one consent unto the Mother of the Bridegroome: who, as soone as she is entred, toucheth her foot with his, and forth-with they depart into a severall roome by themselves. In the meane season the Banquet is comming forth: and a certaine woman standeth before the Bride-chamber doore, expecting till the Bridegroome having defloured his Bride, reacheth her a Napkin stayned with bloud, which Napkin she carryeth incontinent and sheweth to the Ghests, proclayming with a lowd voyce, that the Bride was ever til that time an unspotted & pure Virgine. This woman, together with other women her Companions, first the Parents of the Bridegroom, and then of the Bride, doe honourably entertayne. But if the Bride be found not to be a Virgine, the Marriage is made frustrate, and shee with great disgrace is turned home to her Parents. *Fetching home the Bride.*

But so soone as the new marryed man goeth forth of

Custome of fishes.

the house (which is for the most part on the seventh day after the Marriage) hee buyeth great plenty of fishes, which hee causeth his Mother or some other woman to cast upon his Wives feet; and this they, from an ancient Superstitious custome take for a good boding.

The morrow after a company of women goe to dresse the Bride, to combe her Lockes, and to paint her Cheekes with Vermillion; her hands and her feet they dye blacke, but all this Painting presently loseth the fresh hue; and this day they have another Banquet. The Bride they place in the highest Roome that she may be seene of all.

Minstrelsie and dancing.

The same night, which was spent in dancing, there are present at the Bridal-house certayne Minstrels and Singers, which by turnes sometimes use their Instruments and sometimes Voyce-musick: they dance alwayes one by one, and at the end of each Galliard they bestow a Largesse upon the Musicians. If any one will honour the Dancer, he bids him kneele downe before him, and having fastened pieces of money all over his face, the Musicians presently take it off for their fee. The women dance alone without any men, at the noyse of their owne Musicians. All these things use to bee performed when the Bride is a Mayde.

The Marriage of Widdowes.

But the Marriages of Widowes are concluded with lesse adoe. Their cheere is boyled Beefe and Mutton, and stewed Hens, with divers juncating Dishes among. In stead of Trenchers, the Ghests being ten or twelve in number, have so many great round Platters of wood set before them. And this is the common custom of Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner sort present their Ghests with certaine sops or bruesle of Bread like unto a Pancake, which being dipped in flesh-pottage, they eat out of a great Platter not with Spoones but with their fingers onely: and round about each great Platter stand to the number of ten or twelve persons.

The Circumcision of their Children.

Likewise they make a solemne Feast at the Circumcision of their male children, which is upon the seventh day after their birth; and at this Feast the Circumcisor, together with all their Friends and Kinsfolkes is present:

which being done, each one, according to his abilitie, bestoweth a Gift upon the Circumcisor in manner following. Every man layes his money upon a Lads face which the Circumcisor brought with him. Whereupon the Lad calling every one by his name, giveth them thankes in particular: and then the Infant beeing circumcised, they spend that day with as great jollity as a day of Marriage. But at the birth of a Daughter they shew not so much alacritie. [II. vi. 795.]

Of their Rites observed upon Festivall daies, and their manner of mourning for the dead.

Among the people of Fez there have remayned certaine Relikes of Festivall Dayes instituted of old by the Christians, whereupon they use certaine ceremonies which themselves understand not. Upon Christmas even they eate a Sallet made of divers Hearbs: they seeth likewise that night all kind of Pulse, which they feede upon for great dainties. Upon New-yeeres day the children goe with Maskes and Vizards on their faces to the houses of Gentlemen and Merchants, and have Fruites given them for singing certaine Carols or Songs. When as the Feast of Saint John Baptist is hallowed among Christians, you shall here see all about great store of fires made with Straw. And when their childrens teeth begin to grow, they make another feast called, according to the Latines, Dentilla. They have also many other Rites and Customes of Divining, or Southsaying, the like whereof I have seene at Rome, and in other Cities of Italy. As touching their Feasts prescribed by the Mahumetan Law, they are at large set downe in that briefe Treatise which we have written concerning the same Law.

Reliques of Christians Ceremonies observed among the Moores: some of which seeme also to have remained from the Heathen.

S. Nicholas.

Bon-fires.

A booke lost.

Their funerals.

The women having by death lost their husbands, fathers, or any other of their deare friends, assemble forth-with a great multitude of their owne Sexe together, who stripping themselves out of their owne attire, put on most vile sack-cloth, and defile their faces with much durt: then call they certaine men clad in womens attire, bringing great foure-square Drums with them, at the noyse of which Drums the women-mourners sing a Funerall-song, tending as much as may be, to the commendation of the partie

deceased; and at the end of every Verse, the said women utter most hideous shrikes and out-cries, tearing their haire, and with much lamentation beating their cheekes and brests, till they be all-imbrued with bloud: and so these Heathenish superstitions continue for seven whole dayes together. At which seven daies end they surcease their mourning for the space of forty daies, and then they begin anew to torment themselves for three daies together in manner aforesaid: howbeit, these kinds of Obsequies are observed only by the baser people, but the Gentlemen and better sort behave themselves more modestly. At this time all the widowes friends come about her to comfort her, and send divers kinds of meats unto her: for in the mourning-house they may dresse no meate at all, till the dead corps bee carried forth. The woman her selfe that looseth her husband, father, or brother, never goeth forth with the funerall. But how they wash and burie the dead corps, and what superstitions they use thereabout, you shall find recorded in my little Treatise above mentioned.

Their manner of gaming at Fez.

The Citizens use most of all to play at Chesse, and that from ancient times. Other Games there are also, but very rude, and used onely by the common people.

Chesse-play.

Of the African Poets.

In Fez there are divers most excellent Poets, which make Verses in their owne Mother-tongue: most of their Poems and Songs intreate of Love. Every yeare they pen certaine Verses in the commendation of Mahumet, especially upon his Birth-day: for then betimes in the morning they resort unto the Palace of the chiefe Judge or Governour, ascending his Tribunall seate, and from thence reading their Verses to a great audience of people: and he whose Verses are most elegant and pithy, is that yeare proclaimed Prince of the Poets. But when as the Kings of the Marin Family prospered, they used to invite all the learned men of the Citie unto their Palace; and honourably entertaining them, they commanded each man in their hearing to recite their Verses to the commendation of Mahumet: and hee that was in all mens opinions esteemed the best Poet, was rewarded by the King with an hundred Duckats,

Mahumets Birth-day.

Rewards for poets in Fez.

Honor alit artes omnesque in cenduntur ad studio gloriâ.

with an excellent Horse, with a Woman-slave, and with the Kings owne Robes wherewith hee was then apparelled: all the rest had fifty Duckats apiece given them, so that none departed without the Kings liberalitie: but an hundred and thirtie yeares are expired since this custome, together with the Majestie of the Fezzan Kingdome decayed.

A description of the Grammar schooles in Fez.

Of Schooles in Fez for the instructing of Children, there are almost two hundred, every one of which is in fashion like a great Hall. The Schoole-masters teach their Children to write, and reade not out of a Booke, but out of a certaine great Table. Every day they expound one sentence of the Alcoran: and having read quite through, they begin it againe, repeating it so often, till they have most firmely committed the same to memorie: which they doe right well in the space of seven yeeres. Then reade they unto their Scholers some part of Orthography: howbeit, both this and the other parts of Grammar are farre more exactly taught in the Colledges, then in these triviall Schooles. The said Schoole-masters are allowed a very small stipend; but when their Boyes have learned some part of the Alcoran, they present certaine gifts unto their Master, according to each ones abilitie. Afterward so soone as any Boy hath perfectly learned the whole Alcoran, his Father inviteth all his sonnes Schoole-fellowes unto a great Banquet: and his sonne in costly apparell rides through the streete upon a gallant Horse, which Horse and apparell the Governour of the Royall Citadell is bound to lend him. The rest of his Schoole-fellowes beeing mounted likewise on Horse-backe accompany him to the Banqueting-house, singing divers Songs to the praise of God, and of Mahumet. Then are they brought to a most sumptuous Banquet, whereat all the Kinsfolks of the foresaid Boyes Father are usually present: every one of whom bestoweth on the Schoole-master some small gift, and the Boyes Father gives him a new suite of apparell. The said Scholers likewise use to celebrate a Feast upon the birthday of Mahumet, and then their Fathers are bound to send

Two hundred Schooles.

The Alcoran learned by heart.

[II. vi. 796.]

c. 1526.

Torches on Mahumets birth-day.

each man a Torch unto the Schoole: whereupon every Boy carrieth a Torch in his hand, some of which weigh thirtie pound. These Torches are most curiously made, being adorned round about with divers fruits of Waxe, which being lighted betimes in the morning, doe burne till Sunrise; in the meane while certaine Singers resound the prayses of Mahumet; and so soone as the Sunne is up, all their solemnitie ceaseth: this day useth to be very gainefull unto the Schoole-masters, for they sell the remnant of the Waxe upon the Torches for an hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more. None of them payes any rent for his Schoole: for all their Schooles were built many yeeres agoe, and were freely bestowed for the training up of youth. Both in these common Schooles, and also in the Colledges they have two dayes of recreation every weeke, wherein they neither teach nor studie.

The Fortune tellers.

Three sorts of Diviners in Fez.

Now let us speake of the Fortune-tellers and Diviners, of whom there is a great number, and three kinds. For one sort useth certaine Geomanticall figures. Others powring a drop of Oyle into a viall or glasse of water, make the said water to be transparent and bright, wherein, as it were in a mirror, they affirme that they see huge swarmes of Devils that resemble an whole Armie, some whereof are travelling, some are passing over a River, and others fighting a Land-battell, whom when the Diviner seeth in quiet, he demandeth such questions of them as he is desirous to be resolved of; and the Devils give them answere with beckning, or with some gesture of their hands or eyes; so inconsiderate and damnable is their credulitie in this behalfe. The foresaid Glasse-viall they will deliver into childrens hands scarce of eight yeeres old, of whom they will aske whether they see this or that Devill. Many of the Citie are so besotted with these vanities, that they spend great sums upon them. The

Witches.

third kind of Diviners are Women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiaritie with Devils: some Devils they call red, some white, and some blacke Devils: and when they will tell any mans fortune, they perfume them-

selves with certaine Odours, saying, That then they possesse themselves with that Devill which they called for: afterward changing their voyce, they faine the Devill to speake within them: then they which come to enquire, ought with great feare and trembling aske these vile and abominable Witches such questions as they meane to propound; and lastly, offering some fee unto the Devill, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women Sahacat, which in Latin signifieth Fricatrices, because they have a damnable custome to commit unlawfull Venerie among themselves, which I cannot expresse in any modester termes. If faire women come unto them at any time, these abominable Witches will burne in lust towards them, no otherwise then lustie Younkers doe towards young Maides, and will in the Devils behalfe demand for a reward, that they may lie with them: and so by this meanes it often falleth out, that thinking thereby to fulfill the Devils command they lie with the Witches. Yea, some there are, which being allured with the delight of this abominable vice, will desire the company of these Witches, and faining themselves to be sicke, will either call one of the Witches home to them, or wil send their husbands for the same purpose: and so the Witches perceiving how the matter stands, will say, That the Woman is possessed with a Devil, and that she can no way be cured, unles she be admitted into their society. With these words her silly husband being perswaded, doth not only permit her so to do, but makes also a sumptuous banquet unto the damned crew of Witches: which being done, they use to dance very strangely at the noyse of Drums: and so the poore man commits his false wife to their filthy disposition. Howbeit, some there are that will soone conjure the Devill with a good cudgell out of their wives: others faining themselves to be possessed with a Devill, will deceive the said Witches, as their wives have been deceived by them.

Fricatrices.

Among many bad, some good Conjurers.

In Fez likewise there are a kind of Juglers, or Conjurers called Muhazzimin, who of all others are reported to be

Of the Conjurers, Inchanters, and Jugglers in Fez.

most speedie casters out of Divels. And because their Negromancie sometimes taketh effect, it is a wonder to see into what reputation they grow thereby: but when they cannot cast forth a Devill, they say, It is an Airie Spirit. Their manner of adjuring Devils, is this: First, they draw certaine Characters and Circles upon an ash-heape, or some other place; then describe they certaine signes upon the hands and fore-head of the partie possessed, and perfume him after a strange kind of manner. Afterward they make their Inchantment of Conjuration, enquiring of the Devill, which way, or by what meanes he entred the party, as likewise what he is, and by what name he is called; and lastly, charging him to come forth. Others there are that *Cabalists.* worke by a certaine Cabalisticall rule, called Zairagia: this rule is contained in many Writings, for it is thought to be Naturall Magique: neither are there any other Negromancers in all Fez, that will more certainely and truly resolve a doubtfull question: howbeit, their Art is exceeding difficult, for the Students thereof must have as great skill in Astrologie, as in Cabala. My selfe in times past having attained to some knowledge in this facultie, continued (I remember) an whole day in describing one figure onely: which kind of figures are described in manner following. First, they draw many circles within the compasse of a great circle: in the first circle they make a crosse, at the foure extremities whereof, they set downe the [II. vi. 797.] foure quarters of the World, to wit, East, West, North and South: at each end of one of the said crosse lines they note either Pole: likewise about the circumference of the first circle, they paint the foure Elements: then divide they the same circle and the circle following into foure parts, and every fourth part they divide into other seven, each one being distinguished with certaine great Arabian Characters, so that every Element containeth eight and twenty Characters. In the third circle they set downe the seven Planets: in the fourth, the twelve Signes of the Zodiack: in the fifth, the twelve Latine names of the moneths: in the sixth, the eight and twentie Houses of

the Moone: in the seventh, the three hundred sixty five dayes of the yeare; and about the convexitie thereof, the foure Cardinall or principall Windes. Then take they one onely letter of the question propounded, multiplying the same by all the particulars aforenamed, and the product or summe totall they divide after a certaine manner, placing it in some roome, according to the quality of the character, and as the Element requireth wherein the said Character is found without a figure. All which being done, they marke that figure which seemeth to agree with the foresaid number, or summe produced, wherewith they proceed as they did with the former, til they have found eight and twenty Characters, whereof they make one word, and of this word the speech is made that resolveth the question demanded: this speech is alwaies turned into a verse of the first kind, which the Arabians call Ethauil, consisting of eight Stipites, and twelve Chordi, according to the Meeter of the Arabian Tongue, whereof we have intreated in the last part of our Arabian Grammer. And the Verse consisting of those Characters, comprehendeth alwaies a true and infallible answer unto the question propounded, resolving first that which is demanded, and then expounding the sense of the question it selfe. These Practitioners are never found to erre, which causeth their Art of Cabala to bee had in great admiration: which although it bee accounted Naturall, yet never saw I any thing that hath more affinitie with supernaturall and Divine knowledge. I remember that I saw in a certaine open place of King Abulunan his Colledge in Fez, upon a floore paved with excellent smoothe Marble, the description of a figure. Each side of this floore or court was fifty ells long, and yet two third parts thereof were occupied about the figure, and about the things pertaining thereto: three there were that made the description, every one attending his appointed place, and they were an whole day in setting it downe. Another such figure I saw at Tunis, drawne by one that was marvelous cunning in the Art, whose father had written two volumes of Commentaries or expositions

An Arabian Grammer written by John Leo.

upon the precepts of the same Art, wherin whosoever hath exact skill, is most highly esteemed of by all men. I my selfe never saw but three of this Profession, namely, one at Tunis, and two other at Fez: likewise I have seene two Expositions upon the precepts of the said Arte, together with a Commentarie of one Margian, father unto the foresaid Cabalist which I saw at Tunis: and another written by Ibnu Caldim the Historiographer. And if any were desirous to see the Precepts and Commentaries of that Art, he might doe it with the expence of fiftie Duckats: for sayling to Tunis, a Towne neere unto Italy, hee might have a sight of all the particulars aforesaid. I my selfe had fit oportunitie of time, and a Teacher that offered to instruct me gratis in the same Art: howbeit, I thought good not to accept his offer, because the said Art is forbidden and accounted hereticall by the Law of Mahumet: for Mahumets Law affirmeth all kind of Divinations to be vaine, and that God onely knoweth secrets, and things to come: wherefore sometimes the said Cabalists are imprisoned by the Mahumetan Inquisitors, who cease not to persecute the Proffessors of that Art.

Bookes of that Art.

Divination and Southsaying forbidden by the Law of Mahomet.

Here also you may find certaine learned men, which will have themselves called Wizards, and Morall Philosophers. They observe certaine Rules which Mahumet never prescribed. By some they are accounted Catholique, or true Mahumetans, and by others they are holden for heretiks: howbeit, the greatest part of the common people reverence them as if they were Gods, notwithstanding they commit many things unlawfull and forbidden by the Mahumetan Law; as namely, whereas the said Law forbiddeth any love-matters to be expressed in any musicall Ditties, or Songs, these Moralists affirme the contrary. In the foresaid Mahumetan Religion are a great number of Rules or Sects, every of which hath most learned Patrons and Protectors. The foresaid Sect sprang up fourescore yeares after Mahumet, the first Author thereof being called Elhesen Ibnu Abilhasen, and being borne in the Towne of Basora: this man taught his Disciples and followers

Of certaine Rules and superstitions observed in the Mahumetan Law.

Divers Mahumetan Sects.

certaine Precepts, but Writings hee left none behind him. About an hundred yeares after there came another notable Doctor of that Sect from Bagaded, called Elharit Ibnu Esed, who left volumes of Writings unto his Disciples. Afterward those that were found to be his followers, were all condemned by the Mahumetan Patriarkes and Lawyers. Howbeit, fourescore yeares after, that Sect began to revive againe under a certaine famous Professor, who drew after him many Disciples, unto whom he published his Doctrine. This man at length, and all his followers, were by the Patriarke and Lawyers condemned to die. Which he understanding, wrote forthwith unto the Patriarke, requesting that he might be licenced to dispute with the Lawyers, as touching his Doctrine, of whom if he were convinced, he would most willingly suffer death; otherwise that it would be against al equity, that so many innocents should perish upon an unjust accusation. The Patriarke thinking his demand to be reasonable, condescended wholly thereunto. But when the matter came [II. vi. 798.] to disputation, the partie condemned, soone put all the Lawyers to silence. Which when the Patriarke perceived, he revoked the sentence as unjust, and caused many Colledges and Monasteries to be erected for the said partie and his followers. After which time this Sect continued about an hundred yeeres, till the Emperour Malicsach of the Turkish race came thither out of Asia the greater, and destroyed all the maintainers thereof. Whereupon some of them fled unto Cairo, and the rest into Arabia, being dispersed here and there for the space of twenty yeares, till the reigne of Caselsah, Nephew unto Malicsach, Nidam Elmule, one of his Counsellers, and a man of an high spirit, being addicted unto the said Sect, so restored, erected, and confirmed the same, that by the helpe of one Elgazzuli, a most learned man (who had written of the same argument a notable Worke, divided into seven parts) he reconciled the Lawyers with the Disciples of this Sect, conditionally, that the Lawyers should be called Conservers of the Prophet Mahumet his Lawes, and the Sectaries

Bagdet sacked by the Tartars.

Reformers of the same. This concord lasted betweene them, till Bagaded was sacked by the Tartars; which befell in the yeare of the Hegeira 756. at what time those Sectaries so increased, that they swarmed almost over all Africa and Asia. Neither would they admit any into their societie, but such as were very learned, and trained up in all kind of liberall Sciences; to the end they might the better defend their owne opinions, and confute their adversaries: but now adayes they admit all kind of rude and ignorant persons, affirming all sorts of learning to be needlesse; for the holy spirit (say they) revealeth the knowledge of the truth unto such as are of a cleane heart; and they alleage many reasons for the confirmation of this their opinion, though not very forcible. Wherefore despising their ancestors Rites, and the strict observations of the Law, they addict themselves to nought else but delights and pleasures, feasting often, and singing lascivious Songs. Sometimes they will rend their garments, either alluding thereby to the Verses that they sing, or being mooved thereunto by their corrupt and vile disposition, saying falsely, That they are then ravished with a fit of divine love: but rather impute it to their abundance of meat, and gluttony. For each one of them will devoure as much meate, as may well suffice three. Or (which is more likely) they utter those passionate clamours and out-cries, because they are inflamed with unlawfull and filthy lust. For sometimes it happeneth that some one of the principal of them, with all his Scholers and Disciples, is invited to the marriage of some Gentleman, and at the beginning of the banket they will rehearse their devout Orizons and Songs, but so soone as they are risen from the Table, the elder of the companie being about to dance, teare their garments: and if any one in the middest of their dancing, that hath drunke immoderately, chanceth to fall downe, he is taken up forthwith by one of the Scholers, and too too lasciviously kissed. Whereupon this Proverbe grew among the people of Fez, The Hermits banquet. Which they use in

reproch of those Masters, that make their Scholers their Minions.

Of divers other Rules and Sects, and of the superstitious credulity of many.

Amongst these Sects there are some, that have not onely a divers Law, but also a different beliefe from the residue; whereupon by some others they are called Heretikes. Some there are also which hold, that a man by good Works, by Fasting, and Abstinence, may attaine unto the nature of an Angell, which good Works, Fastings, &c. doe (say they) so purge and free the mind from all contagion of evill, that by no meanes it can sinne any more, though it would never so faine. Howbeit, they thinke themselves not capable of this felicitie, before they ascended thereunto by the degrees of fiftie Disciplines or Sciences: and although they fall into sinne before they be come to the fiftieth degree, yet they say that God wil not impute that sinne unto them. These fellowes indeed in the beginning led a most strict life, and do even macerate and consume themselves with fasting: but afterward they give themselves to all licentiousnesse and pleasure. They have also a most severe forme of living set downe in foure Bookes, by a certaine learned man of their faction, called Essehrauar de Sehrauard, and borne in the Citie of Corasan. Likewise there was another Authour called Ibnul Farid, that described all their Religion in witty Verses, which being fraught with Allegories, seemed to intreate of nought but Love: wherefore one Elfargani expounded the said Verses with a Commentarie, and thereout gathered the Canons and Orders of the Sect, and shewed the degrees to the attainement of felicitie. Moreover, the said Verses are so sweet and elegant, that the maintainers of this Sect will sing and repeate none other in their Banquets: for these three hundred yeeres no Author hath so adorned their language as the said Ibnul. These Sectaries take the Heavens, the Elements, the Planets, and the fixed Starres to be one God, and that no Law nor Religion is erronious: for every man (say they) may lawfully worship that which his mind is most addicted to worship. They thinke that all the knowledge of God was infused into one man, whom

they call in the language Elcorb; this man, they say, was elect by God, and was made equall in knowledge to him. Forty there are among them called all by the name of Elauted, which signifieth in our language, a block, or stock of a tree: out of this number, when their Elcoth deceaseth, they create another in his roome, namely, seventy persons that have the authority of election committed unto them. There are likewise seven hundred sixty five others (whose names I doe not well remember) who are chosen into the said electors roomes, when any of them decease. These seven hundred sixtie five being bound thereunto by a certaine Canon or Rule of their Order, are constrained [II. vi. 799.] alwaies to goe unknowne, and they range almost all the world over in a most vile and beggerly habite, so that a man would take them for mad men, and estranged from all sense of humanitie: for these lewde miscreants under pretence of their religion, run like rogues naked and savage throughout all Africa, having so little regard of honestie or shame, that they will like brute beasts ravish women in publike places; and yet forsooth the grosse common people reverence them as men of wonderfull holinesse.

Horrible villanie, and more horrible blindnesse.

Great swarmes of these filthie Vagabonds you may see in Tunis, but many more in Egypt, and especially at Alcair, where as in the Market called Bain Elcasrain, I saw one of these Villaines with mine owne eyes, in the presence of much people, defloure a most beautifull woman as she was comming forth of the Bath: which being done, the fond people came flocking about the said woman, striving to touch her garment as a most holy thing, saying, That the Adulterer was a man of great sanctitie, and that he did not commit the sin, but onely seemed to commit it: which when the silly cuckold her husband understood, he shewed himselfe thankefull to his false God with a solemne Banquet, and with liberall giving of Almes. The Magistrates of the Citie would have punished the Adulterer, but they were in hazard to be slaine of the people for their labours, who (as is before said) adore these Varlets for Saints, and men of singular holinesse. Other

more vilanous acts I saw committed by them, which I am ashamed to report.

Of the Caballists, and certaine other Sects. Pythagoreans, or Banians.

Likewise there is another sort of men, which wee may fitly call Cabalists. These fast most strictly, neither doe they eate the flesh of any living creature, but have certaine meates and garments allotted unto them: they rehearse likewise certaine set-prayers appointed for every houre of the day and for the night, according to the varietie of dayes and moneths, and they use to carrie about certaine square Tables with characters and numbers engraven therein. They faine themselves to have daily conference with the Angels, of whom they learne (they say) the knowledge of all things. They had once a famous Doctor of their Sect, called Boni, who was Author of their Canons, Prayers, and square Tables. Which when I saw, mee thought their Profession had more affinitie with Magique then with Cabala. Their Art was divided into eight parts, whereof the first was called Elumha Enormita, that is, the demonstration of light, the which contained Prayers and Fastings. The second called Semsul Meharif, that is, the Sunne of Sciences, contained the foresaid square Tables, together with their use and profit. The third part they call Sirru Lasmei Elchusne; this part contained a catalogue of those ninetie nine Vertues, which (they say) are contained in the names of God, which I remember I saw at Rome in the custodie of a certaine Venetian Jew. They have also a certaine other Rule, called Suvach, that is, the Rule of Hermites: the Professors and followers whereof inhabite Woods, and solitarie places; neither have they any other food, but such as those wild Desarts will affoord: the conversation of these Heremites no man is able exactly to describe, because they are estranged from all humane societie. But if I should take upon me to describe the varietie of Mahumetan Sects, I should digresse too farre from my present purpose. He that desireth to know more of this matter, let him reade over the booke of Elefacni, who discourseth at large of the Sects belonging to the Mahumetan Religion, the principall whereof are seventie

Boni.

Seventy two principall Sects in the religion of Mahumet.

two, every one of which defend their opinions to be true and good, and such as a man may attaine salvation by. At this day you shall find but two principall Sects onely, the one of Leshari being dispersed over all Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Turkie: the other of Imamia, which is authorized throughout the whole Kingdome of Persia, and in certaine Townes of Corasan; and this Sect the great Sophi of Persia maintaineth, insomuch that all Asia had like to have been destroyed thereabout. For whereas before they followed the sect of Leshari, the great Sophi by force of Armes established his owne of Imamia: and yet one onely Sect stretcheth over all the Mahumetans Dominions.

Of such as search for treasures in Fez.

Moreover, in the Citie of Fez there are certaine men called Elcanesin, who supposing to finde treasure under the foundations of old houses, doe perpetually search and delve. These grosse fellowes use to resort unto certaine dennes and caves without the Citie-walles, certainely perswading themselves, that when the Romans were chased out of Africa, and driven into Bætica or Granada in Spaine, they hid great abundance of treasure in the bowels of the earth, which they could not carry with them, and so enchanted the same by Art-Magique, that it can by no meanes be attained unto but by the same Art; wherefore they seeke unto Inchanters to teach them the Art of digging up the said treasures. Some of them there are that will stedfastly affirme, that they saw Gold in this or that Cave: others, that they saw Silver, but could not digge it out, by reason that they were destitute of Perfumes and Enchantments fit for the purpose; so that being seduced with this vaine opinion, and deeply delving into the earth, they turne upside-downe the foundations of Houses and Sepulchers, and sometimes they proceede in this manner tenne or twelve dayes journey from Fez: yea, so fond they are, and so besotted, that they esteeme those Bookes that professe the Art of digging of Gold, as divine Oracles. Before my departure from Fez, these fantasticall people had chosen them a Consull, and getting licence of certaine

owners to digge their grounds, when they had digged as much as they thought good, they paid the said owners for all dammages committed.

Of the Alchymists of Fez.

In this Citie likewise there are great store of Alchymists, which are mightily addicted to that vaine practice: they are most base fellowes, and contaminate themselves with the steame of Sulphur, & other stinking smels. In the evening they use to assemble themselves at the great Temple, where they dispute of their false opinions. They have of their Arte of Alchymie many Bookes written by learned men, amongst which one Geber is of principall account, who lived an hundred yeeres after Mahumet, and being a Greeke borne, is said to have renounced his owne Religion. This Geber his workes and all his precepts are full of Allegories or darke borrowed speeches. Likewise they have another Author, that wrote an huge Volume of the same Arte, intituled by the name of Attogrehi: this man was secretary unto the Soldan of Bagaded, of whom we have written in the lives of the Arabian Philosophers. Also the Songs or Articles of the said Science were written by one Mugairibi of Granada, whereupon a most learned Mamuluch of Damasco wrote a Commentary: yet so, that a man may much more easily understand the Text then the exposition thereof. Of Alchymists here are two sorts; whereof the one seeke for the Elissir, that is, the matter which coloureth brasse and other Metals; and the other are conversant about multiplication of the quantities of Metals, whereby they may conveniently temper the same. But their chiefest drift is to coine counterfeit money: for which cause you shall see most of them in Fez with their hands cut off.

[II. vi. 800.]

Geber an Alchymic writer.

A Booke written by John Leo of the lives of the Arabian Philosophers.

Charmers and Inchanters of Snakes.

In this City likewise there is a great swarme of base people, such as there Italians commonly call Ciurmatori: these sing foolish Songs & Rimes in all the streets of the City, & broching meere trifles with the Musicke of Drums, Harpes, and Citterns, they sell unto the rude people certaine scrowles or briefe Charmes in stead of preservatives. Unto these you may adde another kinde of reffuse

people of one Family and disposition with the former, who carry dauncing Apes up and downe, and have their Neckes and Armes all entwined with crawling Snakes. These also professe Geomancy, and perswade women that they can foretell them their fortune. Likewise they carry stone-horses about with them, which for a certaine Fee, they will let others have to cover their Mares. Their Gentlemen are very stately and high minded, and will have little or no familiarity at all with the Citizens: so likewise the Doctors and Judges of principall account will admit but few unto their acquaintance. This City it selfe is most beautiful and right commodiously situate; where albeit in winter time the streets are so mirie, that you cannot walke in them without startups, yet they let passe such abundance of water out of their Conduits, that all the filth is washed cleane away. Where Conduits are wanting, they carry all the durt in Carts unto the next part of the River.

A Description of the Suburbs without the foresaid City of Fez.

Without the wals of this City Westward standeth a Suburbe containing almost five hundreth Families, the houses whereof are but meane, and the Inhabitants base, as namely, divers of Camels, Water-bearers, and Cleavers of Wood for the Kings Palace. Yet heere you may finde divers shops, and all kinds of Artificers. Heere likewise dwell all the Charmers and Roguish Minstrels before named; as also great swarmes of sluttish and filthie harlots. In the principall street of this Suburbe, you shall find certaine Caves most Artificially hewen out of excellent Marble, wherein the Noble men of Fez were wont to lay up their Corne: for the least of them will containe more then a thousand Measures of Corne, there being above an hundreth and fifty of them in all, but now they lie waste and open, insomuch that divers fall into them at unawares, for which cause their brims are invironed with wals. Heere every one may play the Vintner and the Bawd; so that this Suburbe may justly be called the sinke of Fez. From the twentieth houre you shall see none at all in their shops: for then every man runs to the Taverne to disport,

to spend riotously, and to be drunken. Another Suburbe there is allotted unto the Lepers, of whom there are two hundreth Families: these leprous persons have a Governour, which gathereth certaine yeerely Revenues from the Noble men, and taketh such care of the said Lepers, that they want no necessary thing. He is bound by his Office to discharge the City of all leprous persons, and to compell all such as hee understands to be infected with that disease, to depart into the foresaid Suburbs. If ány Leper chanceth to die without issue, part of his goods are imployed to the common benefite of the Lepers, and part fall to the Governours share: but if he hath children, they injoy his goods.

The habitation of Lepers in Fez and their Governour.

Many fields there are without the City, which have beene given by certaine Noblemen for the buriall of the dead. Upon their Sepulchers for the most part they lay a long three-square stone. When any Noble man or any principall Citizen deceaseth, they lay one stone over his head, and another over his feet, whereon used to be engraven some Epitaph, with the day and yeere when the party deceased. I my selfe bestowed much labour in gathering of Epitaphs, which I saw both about Fez and in other places of Barbary; all which being set downe in a Booke, I gave unto the Kings Brother. The manner of their Epitaphs is divers, some tending to consolation, and others to sorrow.

A Description of the common place of buriall without the City.

Northward of the City upon a certaine high Hill stands a Palace, wherein are the Monuments of divers Marin Kings, being most Artificially hewen out of Marble with Epitaphs upon them, so that I cannot condignely expresse the Majestie and Beauty thereof.

The Sepulchers of the Kings of Fez.

King Jacob the Founder divided New Fez into three parts, whereof the first contained his Royall Palace, and divers Noblemens houses, unto every one of which he allotted a most pleasant Garden. Not farre from his Palace he built a most stately and sumptuous Temple. In another part of this Citie hee built a large and faire Stable for the Kings Horses to stand in. Then also he caused

New Fez.

[II. vi. 801.]

other Palaces to be erected for his Captaines and principall Courtiers. From the West gate to the East he appointed the Market place, the distance betweene which Gates is a mile and an halfe, and on both sides he placed Artificers and Merchants shops.

Gold-smiths. In Fez, neither Ring nor any other Jewell or Commoditie can bee made of Silver or Gold, before the Metall be sealed, for the Offenders are most severely punished. And the Mettall being sealed, whatsoever is made thereof is weighed as if it were money. The greatest part of Gold-smiths dwelling in new Fez are Jewes, who carry their Vessels of Gold and Silver unto a certaine place of old Fez, neere unto the Grocers shops, and there sell them. For in olde Fez neither Gold nor Silver is coyned, nor any Mahumetans are suffered to bee Gold-smiths, because they have Usurers among them, which will sell any piece of wrought Silver or Gold dearer then the waight requireth; albeit the same priviledge is by the Governours of the Citie granted unto the Jewes. Some there are also that onely make Plate for the Citizens, who are payed hire onely for their worke. That part of the Citie which the Kings Attendants or Guard once possessed, is now inhabited by Jewes: for now a dayes the Kings use no such Guard.

Jewes.

The Jewes indeed first dwelt in old Fez, but upon the death of a certaine King they were all robbed by the Moores: whereupon King Abusabid caused them to remoove into new Fez, and by that meanes doubled their yearely Tribute. They therefore even till this day doe occupie a long street in the said new Citie, wherein they have their Shoppes and Synagogues, and their number is marvellously increased ever since they were driven out of Spaine. These Jewes are had in great contempt by all men, neyther are any of them permitted to weare shooes, but they make them certaine Sockes of Sea-rushes. On their heads they weare a blacke *Dulipan, and if any will goe in a Cap, he must fasten a Red cloth thereunto. They pay unto the King of Fez monethly foure hundred Duckats.

Their contempt.

**Or Turbant.*

At length, within the space of an hundred and forty yeares this new Citie was environed with most impregnable wals, and adorned with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, and other such building as serve to beautifie a Citie, so that I thinke there was more bestowed in garnishing of the Citie, then in building of the wals. Without the Citie-wals are built many huge Wheeles or Engins, for the convaying of River-water over the said wals into Cisternes, from whence it is convayed in certayne Channels and Pipes unto the Temples, Gardens, and Palaces. The said Wheeles were built not fully an hundred yeares past, before which time water was brought unto the Citie by a certayne Conduit, from a Fountayne ten miles distant. Of which artificiall Conduit a certaine Genouese, being then in great favour with the King, is reported to have beene the Author: but the Wheeles (they say) were invented by a Spaniard: and in them there is marvellous cunning Workmanship: for to the convayance of so huge a quantitie of water, each Wheele is turned about but foure and twentie times onely in a day and a night. To conclude, here are but few Gentlemen in this Citie, except such as attend upon the Court, for the residue are base and Mechanicall people: but such as carry any shew of honestie, doe so hate and disdayne the Kings Courtiers and Gentlemen, that they will by no meanes vouchsafe to marrie their Daughters unto them.

Engins for the convayance of water.

Amongst all the Princes of Africa, I never read of any that was created by the common suffrages and consent of the people unto his Kingdome or Princedome, or that was called from any strange Province or Citie to beare rule. Also by the Law of Mahumet no man may beare any Secular Authoritie, which may be called lawfull, save onely the Mahumetan Patriarkes and Prelates: howbeit the said Patriarkes Authoritie decreasing daily more and more, the Ringleaders of such people as ranged up and downe the Desarts, began to invade places inhabited and civilized, and by force of Armes, against Mahumets Law, and maugre his Prelates, to ordayne sundry Princes: As for

The fashions and customes used in the Kings Court.

No Elective Princes in Africa, chosen by the people.

No Rulers Mahumetan but Prelates.

example in the East, whereas the Turkes, Cordians, and Tartars, have usurped dominion over such as were not able to repell them. So likewise in West parts first the Families of Zeneta and Luntuna, then the seditious Mahumetan Preachers, and afterward the Family of Marin got the upper hand. Howbeit, the Family of Luntuna is reported to have ayded the Westerne Regions, and to have released them from the furie of the seditious Heretikes, wherein they shewed themselves Friends and not Enemies: but afterward their tyranny began to shew it selfe. And this is the reason why they doe not now a dayes attayne unto Government by Hereditarie Succession or by Election of the people, or of the Nobilitie.

But the Prince himselfe when he feeles death seazing upon him, calleth about him all his Peeres and Nobles, and bindeth them by Oath, to establish his Sonne, Brother, or any other whom he most favoureth, in his Kingdome. But they after the Princes decease neglecting their Oath, will chose any other whom they list. And this is ordinarily the Election of the King of Fez, who, so soone as he is proclaymed King, chooseth forth-with some one of his Nobles to be his Chiefe Counsellour, and on him he bestoweth the third part of all his Kingly Revenues. Then chooseth another to be his Secretarie, Treasuror, and High Steward of his Houshold. Then is created the Captaine of the Horsemen appointed for the Kings Guard, and these Horsemen with their Horses live most commonly in the fields.

This was before the Xeriffe Family prevailed.

The manner of choosing Officers in the Court of Fez.

[II. vi. 802.]

Lastly, he appointeth a new Governour over every Citie, unto whom all the Tributes and Revenues of the same place redound, with condition that as often as any warres betyde, hee shall maintayne a certayne company of Horses to the Kings service. After a while also hee placeth certayne Deputies and Commissioners over his people inhabiting the Mountaynes, and over the Arabians subject unto him. The Governours of Cities diversly administer Justice, according to the custome of the place. Some there are also appointed by the King to collect all

the Tributes and Revenues of his Kingdome, and duly to pay the same unto him. Likewise there are others chosen, whom they call in their Language, Keepers or Guardians, and unto every one of these the King giveth some Castle or Village, whereby hee may procure his owne mayntenance, and bee able to serve the King in time of warre.

Moreover, the King of Fez mayntayneth a Troupe of Light Horsemen, who so long as they serve the King in his Campe, have their Dyet allowed them out of the Kings Provision: but in time of peace, he findeth them Corne, Butter, and pouldered flesh for the whole yeare, but money they have very seldome. Once a yeare they are apparelled at the Kings cost; neither doe they provide for their Horses either within the Citie or without, for the King furnisheth them with all necessaries. Those that give attendance to their Horses are Christian Captives, which go shackled in great Chaines and Fetters. But when the Armie remooveth. any whither, the said Christians are carryed upon Camels backes. Another Officer there is that giveth attendance onely to the Camels, assigning certaine Pastures unto the Heardsmen, and dividing fields among them, and making such provision for the Kings Camels, as himselfe shall thinke expedient. Each Camel-driver hath two Camels, which are laden with the Kings Furniture, according to the appointment of the Governour. Likewise the King hath a certaine Purveyor or Steward, whose office is to provide, keepe, and distribute Corne both to the Kings Houshold and to his Army. This man in time of warre hath ten or twelve Tents to lay up Corne in, and every day with change of Camels he sendeth for new Corne, least the Army should be unprovided of victuals: he hath also Cookes at his command.

Moreover, there is a Governour, or Master Groome of the Stables, who provideth for the Kings Horses, Mules, and Camels, and is furnished with all necessaries by the Steward. There is another also appointed, Over-seer of the Corne, whose dutie it is to provide Barley and other Provender for the beasts: and this man hath his Scribes

and Notaries about him, who diligently set downe all particular expenses, for they must give up a perfect account unto the chiefe Steward. They have also a certaine Captaine over fiftie Horsemen, which Horsemen may well bee called Pursuivants, for they are sent by the Secretarie in the Kings name to doe his businesse. Likewise the Fezzan King hath another Captaine of great name, being as it were, Governour of his Guard, who in the Kings name, may compell the Judges to doe Justice, and to put their sentences in execution. This mans authoritie is so great, that sometimes he may commit principall Noblemen to Ward, and may severely punish them, according to the Kings commandement.

Moreover, the said King hath a most trusty Chancelor, who keepeth the great Seale, and writeth and signeth the Kings Letters. He hath also a great number of Footmen, the Governour of whom accepteth and dismisseth whom hee thinkes good, and giveth to every one wages according to his agilitie and desert. And whensoever the King commeth in place of Judgement, the said Governour alwayes attendeth upon him, and is in a manner his High Chamberlaine. Also there is another that taketh charge of the Carriages and Baggage of the Armie, and causeth the Tents of the Light Horsemen to be carryed up and downe on Mules, and the Tents of the other Souldiers on Camels. There are likewise a Company of Ensigne-bearers, who in marching on a Journey carry their Colours wrapped up: but he that goeth before the Armie hath his Banner displayed, and of a great height. And every one of the said Standard-bearers knoweth most exactly alwayes, fords of Rivers, and passages thorow Woods, wherefore they are for the most part appointed to guide the Army.

The Drummers (of whom there are great store in the Kings Host) play upon certayne Drums of Brasse as bigge as a great Kettle, the lower part whereof is narrow, and the upper broad, being covered with a skinne. These Drummers ride on Horseback, having alwayes on the one side of their Horses a great waight hanging downe, to

counterpoize the heavinesse of their Drums on the other side. They are allowed most swift Horses, because the Moores account it a great disgrace to loose a Drumme. The said Drummes make such a loude and horrible noyse, that they are not onely heard a farre off, but also strike exceeding terrour both upon men and Horses, and they are beaten onely with a Buls-pizzle. The Musicians are not maintayned at the Kings charge, for the Cities are bound at their costs to send a certaine number of them to the warres, who, according to their demeanour in the warres, are admitted or not admitted unto the Kings Table. This King hath also a certaine Master of Ceremonies, who sitteth at his feet in the Senate House, and commandeth each man to sit downe, and to speake according to his dignitie.

All the Mayde servants in the Kings Family are Negro-slaves, which are partly Chamberlaines, and partly Wayting Maydes. And yet his Queene is alwayes of a white skinne. Likewise in the King of Fez his Court are [II. vi. 803.] certaine Christian Captives, being partly Spanish, and partly Portugall women, who are most circumspectly kept by certaine Eunuches, that are Negro slaves.

The King of Fez his Revenues then smal.

The King of Fez hath very large Dominions, but his Revenues are small, to wit, scarce three hundreth thousand Duckats, the fift part whereof redoundeth not to the King: for the remainder is divided into sundry portions, as wee have before signified. Yea, the greater part of the said Revenues is payd in Corne, Cattle, Oyle and Butter, all which yeeld but small store of money. In some place they pay a Duckat and one fourth part, Tribute for every Acre, but in other places a whole Family payeth but so much. In some other Regions each man above fifteene yeares of age payeth as much Tribute also. Neither are the people of this great Citie more vexed with any thing then with paying of their Tributes and Impositions.

Tribute how much.

Heere also is to be noted, that the Mahumetan Governours (the Priests onely excepted) may not exact greater Revenues then those that Mahumet hath allotted unto

them, namely, of every of their subjects which possesseth an hundred Duckats in ready money, they are to have two Duckats and an halfe for yeerely Tribute.

Tithes paid to Mahumetan Princes because they were Priests, and by his law none other.

Every husbandman likewise is bound to pay for Tribute the tenth part of all his Corne. And all the said Tributes he appointed to be paid unto the Patriarke, who should bestow that which was superfluous for the Prince to have, upon common uses; namely, for the releeving of poore impotent people and widowes, and for maintaining of warres against the enemie. But since the Patriarkes began to decay, the Princes (as we have before-said) exercised tyranny. For it was not sufficient for them to exact all the forenamed Tributes, and riotously to consume the same, but also to urge people unto greater contributions; so that all the Inhabitants of Africa are so oppressed with daily exactions, that they have scarcely wherewithall to feed and apparell themselves: for which cause there is almost no man of learning or honesty, that will seeke any acquaintance with Courtiers, or will invite them to his Table, or accept any gifts (bee they never so pretious) at their hands: thinking that whatsoever goods they have, are gotten by theft and bribery.

Note.

The King of Fez his Guard.

The King of Fez continually maintaineth sixe thousand Horsemen, five hundreth Crosse-bowes, and as many Harqubusiers, being at all assayes prepared for the warres, who in time of peace, when the King goeth on Progresse, lie within a mile of his person: for being at home in Fez, he needeth not so strong a Guard. When he wageth warre against the Arabians that bee his enemies, because the fore-named Garison is not sufficient, he requireth ayde of the Arabians his Subjects, who at their owne costs find him a great army of men better trained to the wars, then his owne Souldiers before-mentioned. The pompe and Ceremonies of this King are but meane, neither doth he willingly use them, but onely upon Festivall dayes, and when meere necessitie requireth. When the King is to ride foorth, the master of Ceremonies signifieth so much unto certaine Herbengers or Postes, whereupon the Her-

How the King of Fez rideth on Progresse.

A.D. c. 1526.

bengers give notice thereof unto the Kings *Parents, unto his Nobilitie, his Senators, Captaines, Guardians, and Gentlemen, who presently arrange themselves before the Palace gate. At the Kings comming foorth of the Palace, the Herbengers appoint unto each man his place and order of riding. First and fore-most go the Standard-bearers, next the Drummers, then followeth the chiefe Groome of the Stable with his servants and family; after him comes the Kings pensioners, his Guard, his master of Ceremonies, his Secretaries, his Treasurer, and last of all his chiefe Judge and his Captaine Generall, at length comes the King accompanied with his principall Counseller, or with some other great Peere. Before the King also ride certaine Officers belonging to his person, whereof one carries his Sword-royall, another his Shield, and the third his Crosse-bow. On each side of him march his Foot-men, one carrying a payre of Stirups, another the Kings Partizan, the third a covering for his Saddle, and the fourth a halter for his horse. And so soone as the King is dismounted, they foorthwith cover the Saddle, and put the foresaid halter upon his Horse-head. Likewise there is another footman that carrieth the Kings Pantofles most Artificially wrought. After the King followeth the Captaine of the footmen, then the Eunuches, the Kings Family, the light Horsemen, and last of all the Crosse-bowes and Harque-busiers. The apparell of the King is then very moderate and plaine: insomuch that if a man knew him not, he would thinke him to be absent: for the attendants be farre more sumptuously attired. Moreover no Mahumetan King or Prince may weare a Crowne, Diademne, or any such like ornament upon his head, for that is forbidden by the law of Mahumet. When the King lyeth with his army in the fields, first his owne great tent is pitched in a foure-square forme like unto a Castle, each side of the said square being fifty elles in length. At every of the foure corners standeth a little sharpe Turret made of Cloth, and a gallant Spheare on the top which glistereth like gold. This Royall Pavilion hath foure gates, every one of which is kept by

*Or kinsfolks.

No Mahumetan crowned.

The King of Fez his manner of warfare.

Eunuches. Within the said Pavilion are contained divers other tents, among which is the Kings lodging, being framed in such wise, that it may easily bee remooved from place to place. Next unto it stand the Tents of the Noblemen, and of such as are most in the Kings favour; then the lodgings of the principall Guard being made of Goats-skinnes, after the Arabian fashion; and in the midst of all stands the Kings Kitchin and his Pantry. [II. vi. 804.] Not farre from hence the light Horsemen have their abode, who all of them are victualled out of the Kings Store-house, notwithstanding their attire be very base. Next of all are the Stables, wherein their Horses are marvelous well tended. Without this circuit keepe such as carry the Tents and the Kings Furniture from place to place. Here are also Butchers, Victualers, and such like. All Merchants and Artificers that resort hither, take up their abode next unto the Tent-carriers: so that the Kings Pavillion is pitched like a strong City, for it is so environed with the lodgings of the Guard, and with other Tents adjoyning, that there is very difficult passage to the King. Round about the said Royall Pavillion, there are certaine appointed to watch and ward all night long, howbeit, they are base and unarmed people. In like sort there is a watch kept about the Stables, but sometime so negligently, that not onely some Horses have beene stolne, but there have beene found enemies in the Kings owne Pavillion, that came to murther him. The King liveth the greatest part of the yeere in the fields, both for the safegard of his Kingdome, and also that he may keepe his Arabian subjects in obedience, and sometimes he recreateth himselfe with hunting, and sometime with playing at Chesse. I know right well how tedious I have beene in the description of this Citie: but because it is the Metropolitan not onely of Barbarie, but of Africa, I thought good most particularly to decypher every parcell and member thereof.

Then began Xeriffe to peep forth, which after obtained Fez and Maroco, &c. and Maroco the principall Citie.

Mount Zarhon.

This Mountaine beginneth from the Plaine of Esais lying ten miles distant from the Citie of Fez; Westward

it extendeth thirty miles, and is almost ten miles broad. This Mountaine is all covered with waste and Desart woods, being otherwise still stored with Olives. In this Mountaine there are of Sheepe-folds and Castles, to the number of fiftie, and the Inhabitants are very wealthy, for it standeth betweene two flourishing Cities, that is to say, Fez on the East, and Mecnase on the West. The women weave Woollen cloth, according to the custome of that place, and are adorned with many silver Rings and Bracelets. The men of this Mountaine are most valiant, and are much given to pursue and take Lyons, whereof they send great store unto the King of Fez. And the King hunteth the said Lyons in manner following: In a large field, there are certaine little Cels made, being so high, that a man may stand upright in them: each one of these Cells is shut fast with a little doore; and containe within every of them an armed man, who opening the doore presents himselfe to the view of the Lyon: then the Lyon seeing the doores open, comes running toward them with great furie, but the doores being shut againe, he waxeth more furious then before; then bring they foorth a Bull to combate with the Lyon, who enter a fierce and bloody conflict, wherein if the Bull kill the Lyon, that dayes sport is at an end; but if the Lyon get the victory, then all the armed men, being ordinarily twelve, leape foorth of their Cels, and invade the Lyon: each one of them having a Javelin with a pike of a cubite and a halfe long. And if these armed men seeme to be too hard for the Lyon, the King causeth their number to be diminished: but perceiving them too weake, the King with his company from a certaine high place, where he standeth to behold the sport, kill the Lyon with their Crosse-bowes. And oftentimes it falleth out, that before the Lyon be slaine, some one of the men dies for it, the residue being sore wounded. The reward of those that encounter the Lyon is ten Ducats apeece, and a new garment: neither are any admitted unto this combat but men of redoubted valour, and such as come from Mount

Hunting of Lyons used by the King of Fez.

Fight betwixt a Lyon and a Bull.

Zelagi: but those that take the Lyons first are inhabitants of Mount Zarhon.

Gualili a Town of Mount Zarhon.

This Towne when the Scismatike Idris came into this Region, he began to repaire Gualili, and to replant it so with Inhabitants, that within short time it grew very populous: howbeit after his decease it was neglected by his sonne, being wholy addicted (as is before said) unto the building of Fez. And yet Idris lieth buried in this Towne, whose Sepulchre is visited with great reverence almost by all the people of Barbary, for he is as highly esteemed as if he had been some Patriarke, because he was of the linage of Mahumet.

The Towne called Pietra Rossa, or the Red Sea.

Pietra Rossa, is a small Towne built by the Romanes upon the side of the foresaid Mountaine, beeing so neere the Forrest, that the Lyons will come daily into the Towne

Tame Lyons.

and gather up bones in the streets, yea, they are so tame and familiar, that neither women nor children are afraid of them.

The Castle of Shame.

Shame is an ancient Castle built at the foot of the said Mountaine neere unto the high way from Fez to Mecnase: and it was called by this name, because the Inhabitants are most shamefully addicted to covetise, like unto all the people thereabouts. In old time it is reported that a certaine King passed by, whom the Inhabitants of the Castle invited to dinner, requesting him to change the ignominious name of the place: which when the King had condescended unto, they caused, according to their custome, a company of Rams to be slaine, and certaine bladders and vessels to be filled with milke, to serve for the Kings breakfast the morrow after. But because the said vessels were very large, they consulted together to put in halfe milke and halfe water, hoping that the King should never perceive it. The day following, albeit the King was not very hasty of his breakfast, yet, his servants urging him thereunto, he perceived the milke to be halfe water; whereat smiling, he said: Friends, that which nature hath given, no man can take away.

Naturam expelas furca licet, &c.

About Agla keepe great store of Lyons, but they are

by nature so fearefull, that they will flee at the voyce of a child: hence commeth the Proverbe so rife in Fez, A Lyon of Agla, which they apply unto such a one as maketh great bragges, and is but a meere Dastard.

The occasion of a proverbe. [II. vi. 805.]

A description of the Citie of Arzilla.

The great Citie of Arzilla called by the Africans Azella, was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, about seventie miles from the Streights of Gibraltar, and an hundred and fortie miles from Fez. It was in times past subject unto the Prince of Septa or Ceuta, who was tributary to the Romanes, and was afterward taken by the Gothes, who established the said Prince in his former Government: but the Mahumetans wanne it in the yeere of the Hegeira 94. and held the same for two hundred and twenty yeeres, till such time as the English at the perswasion of the Gothes besieged it with an huge Armie; and albeit the Gothes were Enemies to the English, because themselves were Christians, and the English worshippers of Idols, yet the Gothes perswaded them to this attempt, hoping by that meanes to draw the Mahumetans out of Europe. The English having good successe tooke the Citie, and so wasted it with fire and sword, that scarce one Citizen escaped, so that it remayned almost thirtie yeeres void of Inhabitants.

The taking of Arzilla by the English. These seeme Danes which infested England, Germanie, France and Italie in those times: and comming from England about that time beaten by Alfred, &c. were called English.

Arzilla taken by the Portugals.

But afterward when the Mahumetan Patriarkes of Cordova were Lords of Mauritania, it was againe re-edified, and by all meanes augmented, enriched and fortified. The Inhabitants were rich, learned, and valiant. The fields adjacent yeeld Graine and Pulse of all sorts in great abundance, but because the Towne standeth almost ten miles from the Mountaynes, it sustayneth great want of wood; howbeit, they have coles brought them from Harais, as is aforesaid. In the yeere of Hegeira 882. this Citie was suddenly surprized and taken by the Portugals, and all the Inhabitants carried prisoners into Portugall, amongst whom was Mahumet the King of Fez that now is, who together with his Sister being both children of seven yeeres old, were taken and led captive. For the Father of this Mahumet seeing the Province of

Habat revolt from him, went and dwelt at Arzilla, the very same time, when Esserif a great Citizen of Fez, having slaine Habdulac the last King of the Marin Family, was by the favour of the people advanced unto the Fezzan Kingdom. Afterward, one Saic Abra being pricked forward with ambition, went about to conquer the Citie of Fez, and to make himselfe King; howbeit Esserif by the advise of a certaine Counsellor of his, being Cousin unto Saic, vanquished and put to flight the said Saic to his great disgrace.

Habdulac the last King of the Marin Family.

Moreover, while Esserif had sent his said Counsellor to Temesna, to pacifie the people of that Province being about to rebell, Saic returned, and having for one whole yeere besieged new Fez with eight thousand men, at length by Treason of the Townesmen hee easily wanne it, and compelled Esserif with all his Family, to flye unto the Kingdome of Tunis. The same time therefore that Saic besieged Fez, the King of Portugall (as is aforesaid) sending a Fleet into Africa, took Arzilla, and then was the King of Fez that now is with his yong Sister, carryed captive into Portugall, where he remayned seven yeeres, in which space hee learned the Portugall Language most exactly. At length, with a great summe of money his Father ransomed him out of Portugall, who afterward being advanced to the Kingdome, was by reason of his long continuance in Portugall, called King Mahumet the Portugall. This King afterward attempted very often to be avenged of the Portugals, and to recover Arzilla. Wherefore suddenly encountring the said Citie, he beate downe a great part of the wall, and entring the breach, set all the captive Moores at libertie. The Christians retyred into the Castle, promising within two dayes to yeeld unto the King. But Pedro de Navarro comming in the mean season with a great Fleet, they compelled the King with continuall discharging of their Ordnance, not onely to relinquish the Citie, but also to depart quite away with his whole Armie: afterward it was so fortified on all sides by the Portugals, that the said King attempting often the

Reade Osorius lib. 5. de rebus gestis, Eman.

recoverie thereof, had alwayes the repulse. I my selfe serving the King in the foresaid expedition could find but five hundred of our company slaine. But the warre against Arzilla continued from the yeere of the Hegeira 914. to the yeere 921.

John Leo served the King of Fez in his warres against Arzilla.

The great and ancient Citie of Tangia, called by the Portugals, Tangiara, according to the fond opinion of some Historiographers, was founded by one Sedded the sonne of Had, who (as they say) was Emperour over the whole World. This man (say they) determined to build a Citie, which for beautie might match the Earthly Paradise. Wherefore, hee compassed the same with wals of Brasse, and the Roofe of the Houses hee covered with Gold and Silver, for the bulding whereof he exacted great Tributes of all the Cities in the World. But the Classical and approved Authours affirme, that it was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, at the same time when they subdued the Kingdome of *Granada.

The Citie of Tangia.

*Or Bætica.

Septa, called by the Latines, Civitas, and by the Portugals Seupta, was (according to our most approoved Authors) built by the Romanes upon the Streights of Gibraltar, beeing in olde time the head Citie of all Mauritania, wherefore the Romanes made great account thereof, insomuch that it became very civill, and was throughly inhabited. Afterward it was wonne by the Gothes, who appointed a Governour there, and it continued in their possession, till the Mahumetans invading Mauritania surprized it also. The occasion whereof was one Julian Earle of Septa; who being greatly injuried by Roderigo King of the Gothes and of Spaine, joyned with the Infidels, conducted them into Granada, and caused Roderigo to lose both his life and his Kingdome.

The great Citie of Septa.

The entrance of the Moores into Granada.

The Mahumetans therefore having taken Septa, kept possession thereof on the behalfe of one Elgualid, Sonne of Habdulmalic their Patriarke, who then was resident at Damasco, in the yeere of the Hegeira 92. From thenceforth till within these few yeeres, this Citie grew so civill and so well stored with Inhabitants, that it proved the

[II. vi. 806.]

most worthy and famous Citie of all Mauritania. It contayned many Temples & Colledges of Students, with great numbers of Artizans, and men of Learning and of high spirit. Their Artizans excelled especially in Workes of Brasse, as namely, in making of Candlestickes, Basons, Standishes, and such like Commodities, which were as pleasant to the eye, as if they had beene made of Silver or Gold. The Italians have great cunning in making of the like, but their Workemanship is nothing comparable to theirs of *Septa.

*Or Ceuta.

Without the Citie are divers faire Villages and Granges, especially in that place which for the abundance of Vines is called, The Vineyards: howbeit, the fields are very barren and fruitles, for which cause their Corne is exceeding deere. Both without and within the Citie there is a pleasant and beautifull prospect to the shoare of Granada upon the Streights of Gibraltar, from whence you may discerne living creatures, the distance being but twelve miles. Howbeit, this famous Citie not many yeeres since was greatly afflicted by Habdulmumen the King and Patriarke: who having surprized it, razed the buildings, and banished the principall Inhabitants thereof. And not long after it sustayned as great damage by the King of Granada, who (besides the foresaid harms) carryed the Nobles & chiefe Citizens Captives into Granada. And lastly, in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 818. being taken by a Portugall Armada, all the Citizens did abandon it. Abu Sahid being then King of Fez, and a man of no valour, neglected the recoverie thereof: but in the midst of his dancing and disport being advertised that it was lost, he would not so much as interrupt his vaine pastime: wherefore by Gods just judgement, both himselfe and his sixe Sonnes were all slaine in one night by his Secretarie, in whom hee reposed singular trust, because he would have defloured the said Secretaries wife. These things came to passe in the yeere of the Hegeira 824.

The Streights of Gibraltar from Septa, but twelve miles broad.

Septa taken by the Portugals.

Abu Sahid King of Fez and his sixe Sonnes slaine all in one night.

Afterward, the Kingdome of Fez being eight yeeres destitute of a King, a Sonne of the murthered King whom

he begot of a Christian woman, and who the same night that his Father was slaine fled unto Tunis, succeeded in the Government: this was Habdulac, the last King of the Marin Family, who likewise (as is aforesaid) was slaine by the people.

Upon the Mountaine Quadres, was borne one called by them Hellul: this Hellul atchieved many worthy exploits against the Spaniards; the History whereof is set downe partly in verse and partly in prose, and is as rife in Africa and Granada, as is the Storie of Orlando in Italie. But at length in the Spanish warre (wherein Joseph Enesir King and Patriarke of Maroco was vanquished) this Hellul was slaine in a Castle of Catalonia, called by the Moores, The Castle of the Eagle. In the same battell were slaine threescore thousand Moores, so that none of them escaped save the King and a few of his Nobles. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 609. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1160. From thenceforth the Spaniards had alwayes good successe in their warres, so that they recovered all those Cities which the Moores had before taken from them.

Quadres.

Threescore thousand Moores slaine.

This ancient Towne built upon the Mediterran Sea shoare, and called by the Spaniards, Velles de Gumera, contayneth about sixe hundred Families. Heere is also a very stately Temple to bee seene. Water for drinke is exceeding scarce among them, for they are all constrayned to resort unto one Pit or Well, being in the Suburbes, neere unto the Sepulchre of a certayne man, that was in times past very famous among them. Howbeit in the night it is dangerous to fetch water from thence, because it is so full of Bloud-suckers or Horse-leeches. They have such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a Net; wherefore whosoever will assist the Fishermen in that businesse, are rewarded with good store of fishes for their labour: yea, sometimes they will freely bestow fishes upon such as passe by. They salt the foresaid Sardelli, and send them to the Mountaines to be sold. In this Towne there is a long street inhabited with Jewes,

Bedis, otherwise called Velles de Gumera.

wherein dwell sundry Vintners that sell excellent Wines. So that in calme evenings the Citizens use to carry Wine aboord their Barkes in the Sea, and to spend their time in drinking and singing.

Ferdinando King of Spaine taking a certaine Iland within a mile of the Towne, built a Fort thereon, and so planted it with Ordnance and Souldiers, that neyther their Temples nor themselves walking in the streets were free there from, but were daily slaine. Wherefore the Governour of the Towne was constrayned to crave aide from the King of Fez, who sent out a great Armie against the Christians; but they were partly taken, and partly slaine, so that very few escaped backe unto Fez. The Christians kept this Ile almost two yeeres and then it was betrayed by a false trecherous Spaniard (who slue the Governour of the Ile, because hee had taken his Wife from him) into the Moores possession, and all the Christians were slaine: not a man of them escaped, save onely the Spanish Traytor, who in regard of his Treason was greatly rewarded, both by the Governour of Bedis, and also by the King of Fez. Being at Naples I heard the whole relation of this matter from a certaine man that was present at all the former [II. vi. 807.] Exploits, who said, that they were done about the yeere of our Lord 1520.

In Mount Beniguazeual, there is a certaine Towne indifferently well peopled, and furnished with all kind of Artificers; whereunto the fields belonging marvellously abound with Grapes, Quinces, and Pome-citrons, all which are sold at Fez: heere are likewise great store of Linnen Weavers, and many Judges and Lawyers. They have also a good Market, whereunto the Inhabitants of the Neighbour Mountaynes resort. Upon the top of this Mountayne there is a certaine Cave or hole that perpetually casteth up fire. Some wondring greatly at the matter, have cast in wood, which was suddenly consumed to ashes: I my selfe never saw the like Miracle in any other place, so that a great many thinke it to be hel-mouth.

A cave or hole that perpetually casteth up fire.

In Mount Beni Mesgalda are many Doctors of the

Mahumetan Law, and divers inferiour Students: who put the Inhabitants to great damage. Themselves forsooth, will drinke wine, and yet they perswade the people that it is unlawfull for them to drinke it, albeit some doe give them little credit. The Inhabitants of this Mountayne pay in respect of others no great Tribute, and that perhaps, because they maintayne the foresaid Doctors and Students.

In my time the King of Spaine sent a great Armie against Melela in Garet: before the arrivall whereof, the Townesmen sent unto the King of Fez for ayde, who making warre as then against the people of Temesna, could send but small forces to succour them. Which the Townesmen being advertised of, and fearing least their small forces would prove too weake for the Spaniards great Armada, they tooke all the bagge and baggage that they could carrie, and fled unto the Mountaynes of Buthoia. Howbeit, the Captaine of the Fessan Souldiers, both to bee revenged upon the Townesmens cowardize, and also to leave nothing for the Spaniards to enjoy, burnt downe all the Houses, Temples, and Buildings. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 896. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1487. But the Spaniards, for all they found the Citie so wasted, would not depart thereupon, but first built a strong Castle, and afterward by little and little repayred the Towne wals, and by that meanes have kept possession thereof even till this day. They tooke also Chasasa.

Mellela enjoied and re-edified by the Spaniards.

The Province of Garet is divided into three parts: the first whereof contayneth the Cities and Townes, the second the foresaid Mountaynes, (the Inhabitants whereof are called Bottoia) and the third comprehendeth the Desarts, which beginning Northward at the Mediterran Sea, and extending South to the Desart of Chauz, are bounded Westward with the foresaid Mountaynes, and Eastward with the River of Muluia. The length of these Desarts is sixtie miles, and the breadth thirtie. They are unpleasant and dry, having no water but that of the River Muluia. There are many kinds of beasts in this Desart,

The extreme part of the Desart of Garet.

such as are in the Lybian Desart next unto Numidia. In Summer time many Arabians take up their abode neere unto the River Muluia; and so doe another kind of fierce people called Batalisa, who possesse great abundance of Horses, Camels, and other Cattell, and maintayne continuall warre against the Arabians that border upon them.

The Towne of Dubdu was in possession of one Mahumet who beautified it exceedingly with store of faire houses and buildings: likewise, he greatly altered and reformed the government of this Towne; and shewed such extraordinary courtesie unto all Strangers, that hee grew very famous.

The great courtesie of Mahumet toward strangers.

Moreover, the said Mahumet consulted how to get Tezza from the King of Fez, and offered great matters to the performance of his intent: and that he might the easilier attayne his purpose, he determined to goe to the Market of Tezza in a simple habite, and so to make an assault upon the Captaine of the Towne: for he hoped that a great part of the Townesmen, whom hee knew to bee his friends, would assist him in that enterprize. Howbeit this practice was at length discovered unto the King of Fez (which King was called Saich, and was the first of the Family of Quattas, and Father unto the King that *1526. *now reigneth) who presently assembled an huge Armie, and marched of purpose against Dubdu, utterly to destroy it: and so comming unto the foot of the Mountayne hee there encamped. The people of the Mountayne having gathered an Armie of sixe thousand men, hid themselves craftily behind the Rockes, suffering their Enemies to ascend by certayne difficult and strait passages, from whence they were sure they could hardly escape, and so at length they brake forth on the sodaine and encountred their said Enemies being weary of ascending; and because the way was very troublesome and narrow, the King of Fez his Souldiers could not endure their assaults, but beeing constrayned to give backe, were moe then a thousand of them throwne downe head-long and slaine.

In this skirmish were slaine in all to the number of three thousand Fessan Souldiers: and yet the King not being dismayed with so great an overthrow, prepared forth-with a band of five hundred Crosse-bowes, and three hundred Harquebuziers, and determined to make a new assault upon the Towne. But Mahumet seeing that he could no longer withstand the King, resolved to go himselfe unto him, that he might, if it were possible, obtaine peace, & to release his Country from the fury of the Enemy. Wherefore putting on the habit of an Ambassador, he went & delivered a Letter with his own hand unto the King. Which the King having perused, asked him what he thought concerning the Governor of Dubdu? Mary I think (quoth Mahumet) he is not well in his wits, in that [II. vi. 808.] he goeth about to resist your Majestie. Then said the King, if I had conquered him, (as I hope to do within these few daies) I would cause him to be dismembred and torne in peeces. But what if he shoold come hither (saith Mahumet) to submit himselfe, and to acknowledge his offence; might it then please the King to admit him into favour? Then the King answered: I sweare unto thee by this my head, that if he will come and acknowledge his fault in manner as thou hast said, I will not onely receive him into favour, but will espouse my daughters unto his sonnes, and will bestow most ample and Princely dowries upon them. But I am sure, being distracted of his wits (as thou hast said) that he will by no meanes come and submit himselfe. Then said Mahumet: he would soone come (I assure you) if it pleased the King to protest this for a certaintie unto the Nobles. I thinke (said the King) it hath beene sufficiently protested and affirmed, sithence I have bound it with a solemne oath in the presence of these foure; for here stand my chiefe Secretary, the Generall of my Forces, my Father in law, and the chiefe Judge and Patriarke of Fez; the testimony of which foure may well satisfie you. Whereupon Mahumet humbly falling at the Kings feete: loe, heere the man (quoth he) that submissely acknowledgeth his fault, and

craveth the King gracious pardon. With that the King himselfe lifted him from the ground, embraced him, and saluted him with friendly speeches. Then caused he both his daughters to be called, which he bestowed upon Mahumets sonnes: all which being done, he remooved his armie from that Mountaine, and returned conquerour unto Fez. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 904. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1495. And in the yeere of the Hegeira 921. I my selfe was at the City of Dubdu, where I was most curteously entertained by the foresaid Mahumet.

The Citie of Teza or Tezza.

Tezza was built by the Africans, five miles from Mount Atlas, being distant from Fez fiftie, from the Ocean an hundred and thirty, and from the Mediterran Sea seven miles, and standing in the way from Garet to Chasasan. It contained in times past about five thousand families: the buildings of this Towne are not very stately, except Noblemens Palaces, Colledges, and Temples, which are somewhat beautifull. Out of Atlas springeth a little River which runneth through the chiefe Temple of this Citie: and sometimes it falleth out, that certaine people bordering upon the Citie: upon some quarrel with the Citizens will cut off this River from the Citie, and turne the course thereof some other way, which breedeth great inconveniences unto the Citizens: for then they can neither build houses, nor get any water to drinke, but onely corrupt water which they take out of certaine Cisternes, for which cause they are often constrained to make a league with those borderers. This Citie both for wealth, civilitie, and abundance of people, is the third Citie of all the Kingdome, and hath a greater Temple then that of Fez: heere are likewise three Colledges, with divers Bath-stoves, and a great number of Hospitals. Each trade and occupation hath a severall place in this Citie, like as they have in Fez: the Inhabitants are of a more valiant and liberall disposition, then they of Fez: here are also great store of learned and rich men: and the fields adjacent are exceeding fruitfull. Without the Citie

Huge Temple.

walls are very large Plaines, and many pleasant streames, that serve to water their Gardens which are replenished with all kind of fruits: here are abundance of Vines also yeelding very sweet Grapes, whereof the Jewes (being five hundreth Families) make excellent wine, such as I thinke all Africa scarce affoordeth better. I my selfe was acquainted in this Citie with a certaine aged sire, whom the Townesmen adored as if he had beene a god: he was merveilous rich both in Fruits, Grounds, and other Commodities, which the people bestowed upon him in great abundance. The Citizens of Fez used to come fiftie miles (for so farre is Fez distant) onely to visite the said old man. My selfe conceived some great opinion of this aged sire: but after I had seene him, I could find no such super-excellency in him, save onely that he deluded the fond people with strange devises.

Veneration of an old man.

The Mountaine of Beni Jessenten is subject unto the Governour of Dubdu, being inhabited with most base and beggerly people. Their houses are made of Sea-rushes, and so likewise are their shooes made of such rushes when they travell any Journey, where by a man may conjecture the miserable estate of this people. The Mountaine yeeldeth nought but panicke, whereof they make bread and other victuals: but at the foot thereof are certaine Gardens replenished with Grapes, Dates, and Peaches. Their Peaches they cut into foure quarters, and casting away the Nuts or Stones, they dry them in the Sunne, and keepe them an whole yeere, which they esteeme for great dainties. Upon this Mountaine are Iron-mines: and they frame their Iron in manner of horse-shooes, which serveth them sometimes in stead of money, whereof they have great want in this Mountaine, unlesse the Smithes by their Arte keepe this money in store: who, besides horse-shooes, make certaine daggers with blunt points. Their women weare Iron-rings upon their fingers and eares for a great bravery, but they are more basely apparelled then the men, and remaine continually in the woods, both to keepe Goats, and to gather fewell. They

Mount Beni Jesseten.

Iron-mines.

have neither civilitie nor learning, but live after a brutish manner without all discretion and humanitie.

Mount Selelgo. This woodie Mountaine is full of Pine-trees and Fountaines. Their houses are not made of stone, but of Sea-rushes, so that they may easily be remooved from [II. vi. 809.] place to place, which is very commodious to the Inhabitants, for every spring they leave the Mountaine and descend into the Vallies, from whence about the end of May they are expelled by the Arabians, which inhabite the Desarts: who by reason of their abundance of Goats and other Cattell, forsaking the said Desarts, seeke unto the Fountaines and moist places: but in winter, because their Camels are so impatient of cold, they resort unto the woods, and warme Regions. In this Mountaine are great store of Lyons, Leopards, and Apes. And from the said Mountaine runneth a certaine streame of water with such violence, that I have seene a stone of an hundred pound weight carried with the force thereof: and here Subu taketh his beginning, which is the greatest River of all Mauritania.

Lyons, Leopards, and Apes.

Monnt Beni Iasga. The Inhabitants of Mount Beni Iasga are rich, and civill people: it standeth so neere the Mountaine Selelgo, that they are onely separated with the foresaid River: and to the end they may easilier passe from one Mountaine to another, they have made a certaine strange bridge in the midst, and that in manner following: on either side stand certaine Posts, through the which runneth a rope upon a truckle or pulley, unto which rope is fastened a great basket, that will containe ten persons, and that in such sort, that so often as they will passe over to the opposite Mountaine, they enter into the basket, and drawing the rope whereon it hangeth, they are easily carried aloft in the aire over the River by the helpe of the foresaid pulleyes, but sometimes with great hazard of their lives, especially if the basket or the rope be worne in any place: yea, and the distance of place is often an occasion of great terrour. In this Mountaine there is great store of cattell, but little wood. It aboundeth likewise with most excellent

A wonderfull bridge.

fine wooll, whereof their women make cloth comparable unto silke, which is sold at Fez for a great price. Here also is great plenty of oyle.

There is no memorable thing in all Sofroi Towne, save onely a certaine Temple, through the midst whereof runneth a large River; and at the doores standeth a Fountaine of most pure water.

Tame Lyons.

In the Forrests about this Towne, as also about Mezdaga, are marveilous store of Lyons, being not very hurtfull, for any man may drive them away with a little sticke.

The Towne called Ham Lisnan.

At the same time while the Africans were as yet Idolaters, they had a Temple standing neere unto Ham Lisnan, whither at certaine times of the yeere, resorted in the night great multitudes of people both men and women: where having ended their sacrifices, they used to put out their lights, and every man to commit adultery with that woman which he first touched. But the women which were present at this abominable sport, were forbidden to lie with any man for a yeere after: and the children begotten in the said adultery, were kept and brought up by the Priest of the Temple, as being dedicated to sacred uses.

Sacerrima sacra.

Mount Centopozzi.

Upon Mount Centopozzi are great store of most ancient buildings, neere unto the which there is a hole or drie pit of so great a depth, that the bottome thereof can in no wise be seene. Into this pit some mad fellowes will have themselves let downe by ropes, carrying a Candle or Torch in their hands: and beneath, they say, it is divided into many roomes, and as it were, chambers; and last of all, they come to a most large place hewen out of the Rocke with Instruments, and compassed about as it were with a wall, in which wall are foure doores, which lead to other more narrow places, where, they say, that Fountaines of Springing water are. And sometimes it falleth out that some miserably end their lives here: for if their lights chance to be blowen out with any sudden blast of wind, they can by no meanes find the place where the rope hangeth, but are there constrained to die for extreame

famine. It was told me by a certaine Nobleman of Fez, that there were ten persons, who being desirous to see the wonders of this pit, and being prepared for the same purpose, went first three of them downe, who when they were come to the foresaid foure doors, two of them went one way, & the third went alone another way. And being thus divided, after they had proceeded almost a quarter of a mile, there came great swarmes of Bats flying about their lights, insomuch that one light was put out; at length being come to the springing fountaines, they found there certaine white bones of men, and five or sixe Candles, whereof some were new, and others were old and worne with long lying there: but having found nothing but water in the said Fountaines, they returned backe againe the same way that they came: and they had scarce gone halfe way, but their owne light also was blowen out with a sudden blast. Afterward seeking earnestly up and downe, and being weary of many falles that they caught among the Rockes, they found that there was no hope of returne: wherefore in this desperate case committing themselves with teares into the hands of God, they vowed, if they once escaped this danger, never to adventure any more. They that stood at the Caves mouth being ignorant of their companions mishap, expected their returne, and having staid over long, at length they let downe themselves by the rope, and began with lights to seeke their fellowes, making a great noise, and at length found them heavy and sad. But the third, who was wandring up and downe those dark places, they could by no meanes finde, wherefore leaving him, they returned foorth of the Cave. And he that was left behind heard at length a noyse like the barking of little dogges, and shaping his course toward them, he found immediately foure strange, and (as it should seeme) new-borne beasts, after which followed the

[II. vi. 810.] *Damme, being not much unlike to a shee-wolfe, saving that she was bigger: wherefore hee began exceedingly to feare; howbeit, there was no danger, for being about to flee, the beast came towards him, fawning gently upon

*The beast called Dabah.

him with her taile. And so at length, after long seeking, he found the holes mouth with great joy, and escaped the danger: for within a while he said, that he began to see some glimmering of light, as they doe which have long been in the darke. But after a certaine time this Cave was filled with water up to the top.

The Mountaine of Ravens called Gunaigell Gherben.

Cunaigel Gherben, standeth very neere the former, and is full of Woods and Lions. Here is no Citie, nor any other place of habitation, perhaps by reason of the extreme coldnesse of the place. From this Mountaine runneth a certaine little River: and here is a Rocke of an exceeding height, whereupon keepe infinite swarmes of Crowes and Ravens, which some thinke to have been the occasion of the name of this Mountaine. Sometime the terrible Northerly winds bring such abundance of Snow upon this Mountaine, that such as travell from Numidia towards Fez loose their lives thereby, as hath been signified in the first Booke. Every Summer, the Arabians next inhabiting, being called Beni Essen, usually resort unto this Mountaine, in regard of the coole water and pleasant shadowes, notwithstanding they know it to bee haunted with great store of Lions and Leopards.

Dancing way.

There lyeth a way neere the Towne of Umen Giunaibe, which a man may not passe without dancing and leaping, unlesse he will fall into an Ague: the certainty whereof I have heard many avouch.

Of Mount Ziz.

The Inhabitants are a most lewde and villanous generation, being wholly addicted to theft and robberie. They are at continuall dissension with the Arabians, and practise daily mischiefes and inconveniences against them, and to the end they may provoke them to greater furie, they will sometimes throw their Camels downe headlong from the top of some high Mountaine. In these Mountaines there happeneth a certain strange and incredible matter, for there are Serpents so familiar with men, that at dinner-time they wil come like Dogs and Cats, and gather up the crums under the Table, neither will they hurt any body, unlesse they bee offered some injurie.

Domesticall and tame Serpents. The like is reported of Lapland.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The most remarkable things of John Leo, in his fourth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

A description of the Kingdome of Telensin, or Tremizen. Cæsaria.

THis Kingdome beginneth Westward from the Rivers of Zha and Muluia: Eastward it bordereth upon the great River, Southward upon the Desart of Numidia, and Northward upon the Mediterran Sea. This Region was called by the Romans, Cæsaria, and was by them inhabited: howbeit, after the Romans were expelled, it was fully possessed by the ancient Governours thereof, called Beni Habdulguad, and being a generation of the Family of Magraua. And it remained unto them and their successors three hundred yeeres, untill such time as a certaine mighty man, called Ghamrazen, the sonne of Zeijen, tooke possession thereof. His posteritie changing at length their ancient name, were called Beni Zeijen, that is, the Sons of Zeijen: and they enjoyed this Kingdome for the space almost of three hundred and eighty yeares. At length the Kings of Fez of the Marin Family greatly molested them, so that those ten Kings which succeeded Zeijen were some of them unfortunate in battell, some slaine, some taken Captive, and others expelled their Kingdome, and chased to the next Mountaines. Neither were they free from vexation of the Kings of Tunis: howbeit, the Kingdome of Telensin remained still to this Familie, and they continued in peace for almost an hundred and twenty yeares, being endamaged by no forren power; saving that one Abu Feris King of Tunis, and his sonne Hutmen, made them to pay tribute for certaine yeares unto Tunis, till the decease of the said Hutmen. This Kingdome stretcheth in length from East to West three hundred and eighty miles; but in breadth from North to South, that is, from the Mediterran sea, to the Desarts of Numidia not above five and twenty miles: which is the occasion that it is so often oppressed by the Arabians inhabiting the Numidian Desarts. The Kings of Telensin

A.D. c. 1526.

have alwaies endevoured by great gifts to gaine the good will and friendship of the Numidians, but they could never satisfie their insatiable covetice. A man shall seldome travell safely through this Kingdome: howbeit, here are great store of Merchants, perhaps either because it adjoyneth to Numidia, or else for that the way to the land of Negros lieth through it. It hath two most famous and frequented Haven-townes, the one called *Horam, and the other *Marsa Elcabir, whither use to resort great store of Genoueses, and Venetians. But afterward both these Townes were taken by Don Ferdinando the Catholike King, to the great inconvenience of all this Kingdome: for which cause the King then reigning, called Abuchemmeu, was expelled his Kingdome, and put to flight by his owne subjects: afterward Abuzeijen was restored to the Kingdome, who had for certaine yeares been imprisoned by his Nephew Abuchemmeu: howbeit, he enjoyed the Kingdome but a very short space: for he was at length miserably slaine by Barbarossa the Turke, who conquered the Kingdome of Tremizen by force of warre. Whereof Abuchemmeu, that was expelled by his owne subjects, having intelligence, sent to crave aide of the Emperour Charles the fifth, whereby he hoped to recover his Kingdome. Which request being granted, he levied a puissant Armie, and made warre against Barbarossa, and having driven him out, he recovered his Kingdome, and severely punished them that had conspired his banishment. And then he gave the Spanish souldiers their pay, sent the Captaines home with great rewards, and allowed Charles the Emperour a large yearely revenue so long as he lived. After his decease succeeded his brother Habdulla, who neglecting the league made before betweene the Emperor and his brother, and relying upon Solyman the great Turke, refused to pay any more tribute unto the Emperour Charles, and hath kept possession of the Kingdome, till *this present. The greater part of this Region is untilled, drie, and barren, especially towards the South. Howbeit, the sea coast is somewhat more fertill.

Numidians covetise.

**Or Oran.*
**Or Mersalcabir.*

[II. vi. 811.]

Abuchemmeu King of Tremizen, restored to his Kingdome by the Emperor Charles the fifth.

*1526.

The territorie adjacent to the Citie of Telensin is full of woods, saving that the Westerne part towards the Sea is mountainous. Likewise, the Regions of Tenez and Alger containe Mountaines abounding with all kind of commodities. In this part are but few Cities and Castles; howbeit, it is a most fruitfull and blessed place, as we will hereafter declare in particular.

The Desart of Angad. Great store of Ostriches.

This barren, dry, and untilled Desart, being utterly destitute of Water and Wood, is situate upon the Westerne frontier of the Kingdome of Telensin, and extendeth in length fourescore, and in breadth almost fiftie miles. Here are great store of Roes, Deere, and Ostriches.

The Citie called Ned Roma.

This ancient Towne built by the Romans, while they were Lords of Africa, standeth upon a large Plaine, almost two miles from a certaine Mountaine, and about twelve miles from the Mediterran Sea, and neere unto it runneth a little River. The Historiographers of those times report, that this Towne was in all respects built after the fashion of Rome, whereupon they say, it borrowed the name: for Ned in the Arabian tongue signifieth, like. The Wall of this Towne is as yet to be seene: but all the ancient buildings of the Romans are so destroyed, that now there scarcely remaine any ruines thereof. It began in some places to be repaired and reedified anew, but nothing comparable to the former buildings. The fields adjacent are exceeding fruitfull, and containe many Gardens replenished with such trees as beare Carobs (being a fruite like unto Cassia Fistula) which in the Suburbs they use for food. This Towne is indifferently well inhabited, especially with Weavers, who make great store of Cotton-cloth, and are free from all tribute.

The great Citie of Telensin, otherwise called Tremizen.

Telensin, is a great Citie, and the Royall seate of the King; and then it was an honourable and well-governed Citie: howbeit, Joseph King of Fez continually molested it, and with an huge Armie besieged it for seven yeares together. This Joseph having built a Fort upon the East side of the Towne, put the besieged Citizens to such

distresse, that they could no longer endure the extreme famine: wherefore with one accord they all went unto their King, beseeching him to have compassion upon their want. The King, to make them acquainted with his daintie fare, which he had to supper, shewed them a dish of sodden Horse-flesh and Barly. And then they well perceived, how little the Kings estate was better then the estate of the meanest Citizen of them all. Soone after the King having procured an assembly, perswaded his people that it was much more honourable to die in battell for the defence of their Countrie, then to live so miserable a life. Which words of the King so inflamed all their minds to the battell, that the day following they resolved to encounter the enemie, and valiantly to fight it out. But it fell out farre better for them then they expected; for the same night King Joseph was slaine by one of his owne people: which newes being brought unto the Citizens, with greater courage they marched all out of the Towne, easily vanquishing and killing the confused multitude of their enemies; after which unexpected victorie, they found victuals sufficient in the enemies Campe to relieve their long and tedious famine. About fortie yeares after, the fourth King of Fez of the Marin Familie, called Abulhesen, built a Towne within two miles Westward of the Citie of Telensin. Then hee besieged Telensin for thirty moneths together, making daily and fierce assaults against it, and every night erecting some new Fort, so that at length the Fezzan forces next unto Telensin easily entred the Citie, and having conquered it, carried home the King thereof Captive unto Fez, where he was by the King of Fez beheaded, and his carkase was cast forth among the filth of the Citie: and this was the second and the greater damage that Telensin sustained. After the decay of the Marin Familie Telensin began in many places to bee repaired, and replenished with new inhabitants, insomuch that it increased to twelve thousand Families. Here each Trade and Occupation hath a peculiar place, after the manner of Fez, saving that the buildings of Fez

The King of Telensin taken prisoner, and beheaded.

Temples and Colledges.

are somewhat more stately. Here are also many, and beautifull Temples, having their Mahumetan Priests and Preachers. Likewise here are five Colledges most sumptuously built, some by the King of Telensin, and some by the King of Fez. Here also are store of goodly Bathes and Hot-houses, albeit they have not such plentie of water as is at Fez. Also here are very many Innes built after the manner of Africa: unto two of which Innes the Merchants of Genoa and Venice doe usually resort.

[II. vi. 812.] **Or Turbant.*

A great part of this Citie is inhabited with Jewes, who were in times past all of them exceeding rich: upon their heads they weare a *Dulipan, to distinguish them from other Citizens: but in the yeare of the Hegeira 923. upon the death of King Abuhabdilla, they were all so robbed and spoyled, that they are now brought almost unto beggerie. Moreover, in this Citie there are many Conduits, the Fountaines whereof are not farre from the Citie walles, so that they may easily be stopped by any forren Enemie. The Citie wall is very high and impregnable, having five great Gates upon it, at everie one of which there is placed a guard of Souldiers, and certaine Receivers of the Kings Custome. On the South-side of the Citie standeth the Kings Palace, environed with most high Walls, and containing many other Palaces within it, which are none of them destitute of their Fountaines and pleasant Gardens: This Royall Palace hath two Gates, one leading into the Fields, and the other into the Citie, and at this Gate standeth the Captaine of the Guard. The Territorie of Telensin containeth most pleasant habitations, whither the Citizens in Summer-time use to retire themselves: for besides the beautifull Pastures and cleare Fountaines, there is such abundance of all kind of fruits to delight both the eyes and taste, that to my remembrance I never saw a more pleasant place: their Figges they use to drie in the Sunne, and to keepe untill Winter: and as for Almonds, Peaches, Melons, and Pomecitrons, they grow here in great plentie. Three miles Eastward of this Citie are divers Mills upon the River of

Pleasant place.

Sefsif; and some other there are also not far from the Citie upon the Mountaine of Elcalha. The South part of the Citie is inhabited by Jewes, Lawyers, and Notaries: here are also very many Students, and Professors of divers Arts, which have maintenance allowed them out of the five forenamed Colledges. The Citizens are of foure sorts, to wit, some Artificers, some Merchants, other Schollers and Doctors, and all the residue Souldiers. The Merchants are men most just, trustie, liberall, and most zealous of the common good, who for the most part exercise traffique with the Negros. The Artificers live a secure, quiet, and merrie life. The Kings Souldiers being all of a comely personage, and of great valour, receive verie large and liberall pay, for they are monthly allowed three pieces of the Gold-coyne of Telensin, which are worth three Italian Duckats, and one second part. All Students before they attaine to the degree of a Doctor, live a bare and miserable life: but having attained thereunto, they are made either Professors, or Notaries, or Priests. The Citizens and Merchants of this Citie are so neate & curious in their apparel, that somtimes they excel the Citizens of Fez in braverie.

Schollers.

The customes and rites observed in the King of Telensin his Court.

A Wonder it is to see how stately and magnificently the King of Telensin behaveth himselfe: for no man may see him, nor be admitted to parle with him, but onely the principall Nobles of his Court, each one of whom are assigned to beare Offices according to their place and dignitie. In this Court are sundry Offices and dignities, and the Kings Lieutenant being principall Officer, allotteth unto each one such places of dignitie, as may bee correspondent to their honour: and this Lieutenant levieth the Kings Armies, and sometime conducteth them against the Enemie. The second Officer is the Kings chiefe Secretarie, who writeth and recordeth all things pertaining to the King. The third is the High Treasurer, who is bound by his Office to receive Tributes and Customes. The fourth is the Kings Dispensator or Almoner, who bestoweth such liberalitie as the King vouchsafeth. The

fifth, is the Captaine of the Kings Guard, who so often as any Nobles are admitted to the Kings presence, conducteth the guarde unto the Palace Gate. Then are there other meaner Officers, as namely, the Master of the Kings Stable, the Over-seer of his Saddles and Stirrops, and his Chiefe Chamberlaine, who giveth attendance onely at such times as any Courtiers are admitted unto the Kings audience. For at other times the Kings Wives, with certaine Christian Captives, and Eunuches doe performe that dutie. The King sometimes in sumptuous and costly apparell rideth upon a stately Steed richly trapped and furnished. In riding hee observeth not much pompe, nor many ceremonies; neither indeed doth hee carrie so great a traine; for you shall scarcely see a thousand Horsemen in his company, except perhaps in time of Warre, when as the Arabians and other people give attendance. His dominions are but slenderly inhabited: howbeit, because the way from Europe to Æthiopia lieth through his Kingdome, he reapeth much benefit by the wares that passe by, especially since the time that Oran was surprised by the Christians.

A passage from Europe to Æthiopia through the Kingdome of Tremizen.

Hubbed containeth store of Inhabitants, who are for the most part Dyers of Cloath. In this Towne was buried one Sidi Bu Median, being reputed a man of singular holinesse, whom they adore like a God, ascending up to his Monument by certaine steps. Here is likewise a stately Colledge, and a faire Hospitall to entertaine strangers in; both which were built by a King of Fez of the Marin Family, as I find recorded upon a certaine Marble stone.

Hubbed.

The Plaine of Batha was utterly destitute of Inhabitants, till a certaine Hermite with his followers, whom they reverenced as a man of singular holinesse, repaired thither. This Hermite in short time grew so rich in Oxen, Horses, and other Cattell, that no man almost throughout the whole Region was comparable unto him. Neither he nor his followers pay any tribute at all, when as notwithstanding (as I heard of his Disciples) he reapeth yearely eight

Batha. A famous Hermite.

thousand bushels of Corne, and at this time possesseth five hundred Horses, tenne thousand small Cattell, and two thousand Oxen; and besides all the former hath yearely sent unto him from divers parts of the world foure or five thousand Duckats: so greatly hath the fame of his false holines spread over all Africa and Asia. Disciples [II. vi. 813.] he hath to the number of five hundred, whom hee maintaineth at his owne cost: neither imployeth he them to ought else, but daily to read a few prayers: for which cause many resort unto him, desiring to be of the number of his Disciples, whom after he hath instructed in certaine Ceremonies, he sendeth them thither from whence they first came. He hath about an hundred Tents pitched, whereof some are for strangers, others for Shepheards, and the residue for his owne Family. This holy Heremite hath foure wives, and a great many women-slaves, wearing most sumptuous apparell. His sonnes likewise have their wives and Families: insomuch that the whole Familie of this Heremite and of his sonnes containeth five hundred persons. He is greatly honoured by all the Arabians, and by the King of Telensin himselfe. My selfe was once desirous to trie what manner of man this Heremite was: and for three dayes I was entertained by him in the most secret places of his habitation, where amongst other things, he shewed me certaine Bookes intreating of Art-Magique, and of Alchymie: and hee endevoured by all meanes to perswade me, that Magique was a most true and undoubted Arte, whereby I perceived that himselfe was a Magician, albeit he never used nor regarded the Arte, except it were in invocating of God by certaine names.

The Towne of Oran.

Oran containing about sixe thousand Families, and built many yeeres agoe by the Africans upon the Mediterran Sea shoare, is distant from Telensin an hundreth and fortie miles. Heere may you see great store of stately buildings, as namely of Temples, Colledges, Hospitals, Bath-stoves, and Innes. The Towne is compassed with most high and impregnable walles, having on the one side a faire plaine, and on the other side divers

Mountaines. The greatest part of the Inhabitants were Weavers, and the residue lived of their yeerely Revenues. The Territorie of this Towne yeeldeth but small store of Corne, so that the Townesmen make all their bread of Barley: howbeit, they are most courteous and friendly to all strangers. This Towne was greatly frequented with Merchants of Catalonia, and of Genoa: and one street thereof is at this present called, the streete of the Genoueses. They were at perpetuall enmitie with the King of Telensin, neither would they ever accept of any Governour, but one which received the Kings Tribute. But the Townsmen chose one of their chiefe Burgomasters to judge of Cases Civil and Criminall. The Merchants of the Towne, maintained at their owne costs, certaine Foists and Brigandines of warre, which committed many Piracies upon the coast of Catalonia, Gevisa, Majorica, and Minorica, insomuch, that Oran was full of Christian Captives. Afterward, Don Ferdinando King of Spaine encountring Oran with a great Armada, determined to release the said Christians out of Captivitie: but he had very hard successe. Howbeit, within a few moneths after being ayded by the Biscaines and the Cardinall of Spaine, he tooke Oran. For the Moores issuing foorth with great furie upon the Christians armie, left the Towne utterly destitute of Souldiers, which the Spaniards perceiving, began to assayle the Towne on the other side; where being resisted by none but by women, they had easie entrance. Whereupon the Moores seeing the Christians Banners advanced upon their wals, they returned backe into the Towne, and were there put to so great a slaughter, that few of them escaped. Thus was Oran taken by the Spaniards in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 916.

Oran taken by the Spaniards.

The Towne of Mersalcabir.

Mersalcabir in the Moores language signifieth, a great or large Haven; for I thinke there is not the like Haven to be found in the whole world besides: so that here infinite numbers of Ships and Gallies may finde most safe harbour in any tempestuous weather. Hither the

Venetians ships made often resort, when they perceived any tempest to approach: and from hence they would cause all their wares to be transported to Oran in other vessels. This Towne also was at length taken by the Spaniards as well as Oran.

Mersalcabir surprised by the Spaniards.

Bresch standeth many miles distant from Mustuganin. It containeth great store of Inhabitants, which are many of them Weavers. The people of this Towne use to paint a blacke crosse upon their cheeke, and two other blacke crosses upon the Palmes of their hands: and the like custome is observed by all the Inhabitants of the Mountaines of Alger, and Bugia: the occasion whereof is thought to be this, namely, that the Gothes when they first began to invade these Regions, released all those from paying of Tribute (as our African Historiographers affirme) that would imbrace the Christian Religion. But so often as any Tribute was demaunded, every man to eschew the payment thereof, would not sticke to professe himselfe a Christian: wherefore it was then determined, that such as were Christians indeed, should be distinguished from others by the foresaid crosses. At length the Gothes being expelled, they all revolted unto the Mahumetan Religion; howbeit, this custome of painting crosses remained still among them neither doe they know the reason thereof. Likewise the meaner sort of people in Mauritania use to make such crosses upon their faces, as we see used by some people of Europe.

Bresch.

Blacke crosses.

Sersell, built by the Romanes upon the Mediterran Sea, was afterward taken by the Gothes; and lastly by the Mahumetans. The wall of this Towne is exceeding high, strong, and stately built, and containeth about eight miles in circuit. In that part of the Towne next unto the Mediterran Sea, standeth a most beautifull and magnificent Temple built by the Romanes, the inward part whereof consisteth of Marble.

The Towne of Sersell.

Stately Temple.

Gezeir, in the Moores language signifieth an Iland, which name is thought to have beene given unto this Citie, because it lyeth neere unto the Iles of Majorica, [II. vi. 814.]

Geizer, otherwise called Algar.

Minorica, and Jeviza: howbeit, the Spaniards call it Alger. It was founded by the Africans of the Family of Mesgana, wherefore in old time it was called by the name of Mesgana. It is a large Towne, containing Families to the number of foure thousand, and is environed with most stately and impregnable walles. The buildings thereof are very Artificiall and sumptuous: and every trade and occupation hath heere a severall place. Innes, Bath-stoves, and Temples heere are very beautifull; but the stateliest Temple of all standeth upon the Sea-shoare. Next unto the Sea there is a most pleasant walke upon that part of the Towne wall, which the waves of the Sea beat upon. In the Suburbs are many Gardens replenished with all kind of Fruits. On the East side of the Towne runneth a certaine River having many mills thereupon: and out of this River they draw water fit for drinke, and for the services of the Kitchin. It hath most beautifull Plaines adjoyning upon it, and especially one called Metteggia, which extendeth forty five miles in length, and almost thirty miles in breadth, and aboundeth mightily with all kinds of Graine. This Towne for many yeeres was subject unto the Kingdome of Telensin: but hearing that Bugia was also governed by a King, and being neerer thereunto, they submitted themselves unto the King of Bugia. For they saw that the King of Telensin could not sufficiently defend them against their enemies, and also that the King of Bugia might doe them great damage, wherefore they offerd unto him a yeerely Tribute of their own accord, and yet remained almost free from all exaction. But certaine yeeres after, the inhabitants of this Citie building for themselves Gallies, began to play the Pirats, and greatly to molest the foresaid Ilands. Whereupon King Ferdinando provided a mighty Armada, hoping thereby to become Lord of the Citie. Likewise upon a certaine high Rocke standing opposite against the Towne, he caused a strong Fort to be built, and that within Gun-shot of the Citie, albeit the Citie walles could not bee endamaged thereby. Wherefore the Citizens immediately sent Am-

Alger become Tributary to the King of Spaine.

bassadours into Spaine, to crave a league for ten yeeres, upon condition that they should pay certaine yeerely Tribute; which request was granted by King Ferdinando. And so they remained for certaine Moneths free from the danger of warre: but at length Barbarossa hastning to the siege of Bugia, and having wonne one Fort built by the Spaniards, determined to encounter another, hoping if he could obtaine that also, that he should soone conquer the whole Kingdome of Bugia. Howbeit, all matters fell not out according to his expectation: for a great part of his Souldiers being husbandmen, when they perceived the time of sowing corne to approach, without any leave or licence they forsooke their Generall, and returned home to the Plough-taile. And many Turkes also did the like, so that Barbarossa failing of his purpose, was constrained to breake up the siege. Howbeit, before his departure, he set on fire with his owne hands twelve Gallies, which lay in a River but three miles from Bugia. And then with forty of his Souldiers, he retired himselfe to the Castle of Gegel, being from Bugia above sixtie miles distant, where hee remained for certaine dayes. In the meane while, King Ferdinando deceasing, the people of Alger released themselves from paying any more Tribute: for seeing Barbarossa to be a most valiant warriour, and a deadly enemy unto Christians, they sent for him, and chose him Captaine over all their Forces; who presently encountred the Fort, but to little effect. Afterward, this Barbarossa secretly murthered the Governour of the Citie in a certaine Bath. The said Governour was a Prince of the Arabians dwelling on the Plaines of Mettegia, his name was Selim Etteumi, descended of the Familie of Telaliba, and created Governour of Alger, at the same time when Bugia was taken by the Spaniards: this man was slaine by Barbarossa, after he had governed many yeeres. And then Barbarossa usurped the whole government of the Citie unto himselfe, and coined money, and this was the first entrance into his great and princely estate. At all the foresaid accidents I my selfe was present, as I travelled

from Fez to Tunis, and was entertained by one that was sent Ambassadour from the people of Alger into Spaine, from whence he brought three thousand bookes written in the Arabian tongue. Then I passed on to Bugia, where I found Barbarossa besieging the foresaid Fort: afterward I proceeded to Constantina, and next to Tunis. In the meane while I heard that Barbarossa was slaine at Tremizen, and that his brother called Cairadin succeeded in the government of Alger. Then we heard also that the Emperour Charles the fift had sent two armies to surprize Alger; the first whereof was destroyed upon the plaine of Alger, and the second having assailed the Towne three dayes together, was partly slaine, and partly taken by Barbarossa, insomuch, that very few escaped backe into Spaine. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 922.

3000. *Arabian bookes.*

A Voyage performed by John Leo.

This Alger is now the cage of uncleane birds, the next of Turkish unchristian Pyrats.

Medua.

The Inhabitants of Medua being themselves unlearned, so often as any learned man comes amongst them, they entertaine him with great honour, and cause him to decide all their controversies. For the space of two moneths, while I remained with them, I gained above two hundred Ducats, and was so allured with the pleasantnesse of the place, that had not my dutie enforced me to depart, I had remained there all the residue of my life.

The Towne of Temendfust. His discourse of the Mountaines is omitted.

Unto Temendfust belongeth a faire Haven, where the Ships of Alger are safely harboured, for they have no other Haven so commodious. This Towne was at length destroyed by the Goths, and the greatest part of the wall of Alger was built with the stones which came from the wall of this Towne.

[II. vi. 815.]

§. V.

The most remarkable things in John Leo his fifth Booke of the Historie of Africa, and a description of the Kingdomes of Bugia and Tunis.

BUgia was subject to the King of Tunis, and albeit, for certaine yeares the King of Telensin was Lord thereof, yet was it at length recovered againe by the King of Tunis, who committed the Government of the

Citie unto one of his Sonnes, both for the tranquillitie of Bugia, and also that no discord might happen among his Sonnes after his decease. Hee left behind him three Sonnes, the eldest whereof was called Habdulhaziz, and unto him he bequeathed the Kingdome of Bugia, as is aforesaid: unto the second, whose name was Hutmen, hee left the Kingdome of Tunis: and the third called Hammare, he made Governour of the Region of Dates. This Hammare began forth-with to wage warre against his Brother Hutmen, by whom beeing at length taken in the Towne of Asfacos, and deprived of both his eyes, hee was carryed Captive unto Tunis, where he lived many yeares blind: but his Brother Hutmen governed the Kingdome of Tunis full forty yeares. The Prince of Bugia beeing most loving and dutifull to his Brother, raigned for many yeares with great tranquillitie, till at length hee was by King Ferdinand of Spaine, and by the meanes of one Pedro de Navarra, cast out of his Kingdome.

A description of the great Citie of Bugia.

This ancient Citie of Bugia was built (as some think) by the Romans, upon the side of an high Mountayne, neere unto the Mediterran Sea, is environed with wals of great height, and most stately in regard of their Antiquitie. The part thereof now peopled contayneth above eight thousand Families: but if it were all replenished with buildings, it were capeable of more then foure and twentie thousand Housholds, for it is of a great length. The Houses, Temples, and Colledges of this Citie are most sumptuously built. Professors of liberall Sciences heere are great store, whereof some teach matters pertayning to the Law, and others professe naturall Philosophie. Neyther Monasteries, Innes, nor Hospitals erected after their manner are heere wanting: and their Market place is very large and fayre: their streetes either descend or ascend, which is very troublesome to them that have any businesse in the Towne. In that part of the Citie next unto the top of the Mountayne standeth a strong Castle, most sumptuously and beautifully walled: and there are such notable Letters and Pictures most artificially carved upon

Scholers. Lawyers. Philosophers.

the Playster-worke and Timber, that they are thought to have cost much more then the building of the wall it selfe.

The Citizens were exceeding rich, and used with their Warlike Gallies continually to molest the Coasts of Spaine; which was the occasion of the utter overthrow of their Citie. For Pedro de Navarra was sent against them with a Fleet of fourteene Sayles onely. The Citizens being addicted wholy to pleasure and ease, and being terrified with the rumour of Warre, because they were never exercised therein, were no sooner advertised of Pedro de Navarra his approch, but all of them together with their King betooke themselves to flight, and left their Citie abounding with all kind of riches and wealth, to be spoyled by the Spaniards, so that it was easily taken, in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 917. Soone after Pedro de Navarra having sacked the Citie, built a strong Fort upon the Sea shoare, and repayred another which had lien a long time waste furnishing them both with Souldiers and Munition.

The Citie of Bugia taken by Pedro de Navarra.

The Inhabitants of Gegel, have in despight of the Kings of Bugia and Tunis continued alwayes free from Tribute: for that impregnable Mountayne can be surprized by no siege nor encounter of the Enemy. At length they yeelded themselves unto Barbarossa, who demanded none other Tribute of them, but onely the tenths of certaine Fruits and Corne.

Necaus.

The Inhabitants of Necaus are very rich, liberall, and curious in their apparell. Heere is an Hospitall maintayned at the common charges of the Towne, to entertayne Strangers that passe by. Here is a Colledge also, the Students whereof are allowed their Dyet and apparell. Neither is this Towne destitute of a most stately and wel-furnished Temple. Their women are white, having blacke haires and a most delicate skinne, because they frequent the Bath-stoves so often. Most of their houses are but of one story high, yet are they very decent, and have each one a Garden thereto belonging, replenished

with Damaske Roses, Myrtles, Cammomill, and other herbs and flowers, and beeing watred with most pleasant Fountaines. In these Gardens likewise there are most stately Arbours and Bowres, the coole shaddow whereof in Summer time is most acceptable.

The Citie of Constantina.

No man can deny the Romanes to have beene Founders of this Citie, that shall consider the great strength, height and antiquitie of the wals, and how curiously they are beset and adorned with blacke stones. This Citie standeth upon the South side of an exceeding high Mountayne, and is environed with steepe Rockes, under which Rockes and within the compasse whereof runneth the River called Sufegmare, so that the said deepe River with the Rockes on either side, serveth in stead of a Towne-ditch to [II. vi. 816.] Constantina. The North part is compassed with a wall of great thicknesse: and there are two extreme narrow passages onely to enter into the Citie, one on the East part, and another on the West. The Citie gates are very large and stately. The Citie it selfe contayneth above eight thousand Families. Buildings it hath very sumptuous, as namely, the Chiefe Temple, two Colledges, three or foure Monasteries, and other such like. Here every Trade and Occupation hath a severall place assigned: and the Inhabitants are right honest and valiant people. Here is likewise a great Company of Merchants, whereof some sell Cloth and Wooll, others send Oyle and Silke into Numidia, and the residue exchange Linnen-cloth and other Wares for Slaves and Dates. Neyther are Dates so cheape in any Region of all Barbarie besides. The Kings of Tunis usually commit the Government of Constantina unto their eldest Sonnes.

Triumphall Arch.

Also without the Citie stand many fayre and ancient buildings. About a mile and a halfe from the Citie standeth a certaine triumphall Arch, like unto the triumphall Arches at Rome, which the grosse common people thinke to have beene a Castle, where innumerable Devils remayned, which (they say) were expelled by the Mahumetans, when they came first to inhabit Constantina.

From the Citie to the River they descend by certaine staires hewen out of the Rocke: and neere unto the River standeth a little house so artificially cut out of the mayne Rock, that the Roofe, Pillars and Wals are all of one continued substance, and here the women of Constantina wash their Linnen. Neere unto the Citie likewise there is a certaine Bath of hot water dispersing it selfe among the Rockes: in this Bath are great store of Snailes, which the fond women of the Citie call Devils: and when any one falleth into a Fever or any other Disease, they suppose the Snailes to be the Authours thereof. And the onely remedie that they can apply upon such an occasion, is this: first, they kill a white Hen, putting her into a Platter with her feathers on, and then very solemnely with Wax-candles they carry her to the Bath, and there leave her: and many good fellowes there are, which so soone as the silly women have set downe their Hens at the Bath, will come secretly thither, and convay away the Hens to their owne Kitchins. Somewhat farther from the Citie Eastward, there is a Fountayne of extreme cold water, and neere unto it standeth a certaine building of Marble adorned with sundry Hieroglyphicall Pictures or Emblemes, such as I have seene at Rome, and at many other places of Europe. But the common people imagine that it was in times past a Grammar Schoole, and because both the Masters and Schollers thereof were most vicious, they were transformed (say they) into Marble.

Hot Baths.

Snaile Devils.

A fond and senselesse Superstition.

Bona was in ancient times called Hippo, where the Reverend Father Saint Augustine was once Bishop. It was in processe of time subdued by the Gothes, and was afterward surprized and burnt to ashes by Hutmen the third Patriarke after Mahumet. And many yeeres after they built a new Towne within two miles, of the stones that were brought from the ruines of Bona: which new Towne they called Beld Elhuneb, that is, the Citie of the fruit called Ziziphus or Jujuba, by reason of the great abundance of that fruit: the which they use to dry in the Sunne, and to keepe till Winter. It contayneth almost

The ancient Towne of Bona.

Saint Augustine in times past Bishop of Hippo.

three hundred Families, and all the houses and buildings thereof are very base, save one onely Temple which standeth next the Sea. The Inhabitants are all of an ingenuous disposition, some of them being Merchants, and the residue Artizans. Here is great store of Linnen-cloth woven, the greatest part whereof is carryed to Numidia.

Every Friday they have neere unto the Towne wals a Market, which is well frequented even till night. Not farre from hence there is a certaine place in the Sea, abounding with great store of Corall: and because the Townesmen know not how to fish for the same, the King of Tunis licensed certaine Merchants of Genoa to fish for it: who in regard of the continuall assaults of Pirates, because they could not speed of their purpose, they obtayned leave also of the King to build a Castle neere unto the place: but that the Townesmen would in no case permit, saying, that the Genoueses in times past tooke their Towne by such a wile, and that it was afterward recovered againe by the King of Tunis.

Great store of Corall.

Tebessa, compassed with an high wall made of such stones, as are to be seene upon the Colosso at Rome: neither saw I, to my remembrance, any such wals in all Africa or Europe; and yet the houses and other buildings are very base. Through part of this Citie runneth a great River: and in the Market, and divers other places stand certaine Marble Pillars, having Epigrams and Sentences with Latine Letters engraven upon them; there are also other square Pillars of Marble covered with Roofes. The Plaines adjacent, albeit, very dry, yet are they most fruitfull for Corne. Five miles from hence, grow such abundance of Wall-nut-trees, as you would take them to be some thicke Forrest. Neere unto this Towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty Caves, wherein the common people say, that Giants inhabited of old: but it is most evident, that those Caves were digged by the Romanes at the same time, when they built the Citie: for certaine it is that the stones whereof the Citie wals consist, were taken out of those Rockes. The Inhabitants are people of a covetous,

The Citie of Tebessa.

inhumane, and beastly disposition; neither will they vouchsafe to looke upon a stranger: insomuch, that [II. vi. 817.] Eldabag a famous Poet of the Citie of Malaga in Granada, having in his travell this way received some discourtesie, wrote in disgrace of Tebessa certaine Satyricall Verses, which my selfe likewise have thought good here to set downe in the dispraise thereof.

Eldabag.

Within this place here's nought of any worth,
Save worthlesse Nuts, which Tebessa affoords.
Soft, I mistake, the Marble walles are worth
Your earnest view, so are the Christall Foords:
But hence are banisht vertues all divine,
The place is Hell, the People worse then Swine.

This Eldabag was a most learned and elegant Poet in the Arabian Tongue, and out of measure Satyricall, and bitter in his invectives. But to returne to our former purpose, these Tebessians have alwaies rebelled against the King of Tunis, and have slaine all the Governours that he hath sent. Wherefore the King that now is, travelling upon a time towards Numidia, sent certaine Ambassadours into the Citie, to know how the Citizens stood affected towards him: unto whom they (in stead of God save the King) made answere; God save our Citie walles. Whereat the King waxing wroth, sacked the Citie forthwith, beheaded and hanged divers of the inhabitants, and made such havock, that ever since it hath remained desolate. This was done in the yeare of the Hegeira 915.

The Towne called Urbs. Urbs full of Roman antiquities.

In the Towne of Urbs, are to be seene sundry Monuments of the Romans, as namely, Images of Marble, and every where upon the Walles are sentences in Latin letters engraven: the Towne Walles are most artificially and sumptuously built. This Towne the Gothes, being assisted by the Moores, surprised, when as it contained the chiefe treasure and wealth that the Romans enjoyed in all Africa. Afterward, it remained for certaine yeares desolate, being at length notwithstanding inhabited anew; yet so, that it deserveth rather the name of a Village, then of a Towne.

We have here given the Reader, with a small generall Map of Barbary and Egypt, a description of the Ruines of Carthage, with the Goletta and Bay of Tunis.

[II. vi. 818.] *The great Citie of Carthage.* **Both may be true of Queen Dido, which came from Phœnicia in Syria.*

The famous and ancient City Carthage was built at the first by a certaine people that came out of Syria. But others say that it was founded by a *Queene. The African Chronicler Ibnu Rachich is of opinion, that it was built by a certaine people that came from Barca. Tripolis of Barbaria and Capis being taken by the Mahumetans, the Inhabitants of them both went unto Carthage, whither the principall Romans and Gothes had retired themselves, who endeavored by all meanes to withstand the Mahumetans: and after many skirmishes the Romans fled to Bona, and the Goths left Carthage for a pray unto the Mahumetans; so that it remained desolate many yeares after, till a certaine Mahumetan Patriarke, called Elmahdi brought in new Colonies: howbeit, he could scarce furnish the twentith part with Inhabitants. There are to be seene at this day certaine ruines of the Citie walls, till you come to a deepe and large Cisterne. And there remaineth as yet also a certaine Conduit, which conveyeth water to the Citie from a Mountaine thirtie miles distant, being like unto the Conduit of the great Palace at Rome. Neere unto Carthage likewise are certaine great and ancient buildings, the description whereof is out of my remembrance. On the West and South part of this Citie, are divers Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits, which are carried from thence to Tunis in great abundance. The plaines adjoyning to this Citie are exceeding fruitfull, though not very large: for upon the North part thereof lieth a Mountaine, the Sea, and the Gulfe of Tunis: on the East and South parts it joyneth to the Plaines of Bensart. But *now this Citie is fallen into extreme decay and misery: Merchants shops there are not above twenty or five and twenty at the most: and all the houses of the Towne being scarce five hundred, are most base and beggerly. In my time here was a stately Temple, and a faire Colledge also, but no Students were therein. The Townesmen, though

Ruines of Carthage.

*1526.

verie miserable, yet are they exceeding proud withall, and seeme to pretend a great shew of Religion. And the greater part of them are either Gardiners or Husbandmen, and are grievously oppressed with the Kings daily exactions.

A description of the mighty Citie of Tunis.

This Citie is called by the Latines, Tunetum, and by the Arabians Tunus, which name they thinke to be corrupt, because it signifieth nought in their language: but in old time it was called Tansis, after the name of a Citie in Asia. At the first it was a small Towne built by the Africans upon a certaine Lake, about twelve miles distant from the Mediterran Sea. And upon the decay of Carthage, Tunis began to increase both in buildings and inhabitants: for the inhabitants of Carthage were loth to remaine any longer in their owne Towne, fearing least some Armie would have been sent out of Europe: wherefore they repaired unto Tunis, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof. Afterward came thither one Hucba Utmen, the fourth Mahumetan Patriarke, who perswaded the Citizens, that no Armie or Garrison ought to remaine in any Sea Townes; wherefore he built another Citie, called Cairaoan, being distant from the Mediterran Sea thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: unto which Citie the Armie marched from Tunis, and in the roome thereof other people were sent to inhabite. About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, Cairaoan being sacked by the Arabians, the Prince thereof was expelled, and became Governour of the Kingdome of Bugia: howbeit, he left certaine Kinsmen of his at Tunis, who governed that Citie. And ten yeares after, Bugia was taken by Joseph, the sonne of Tesfin, who seeing the humanitie of the foresaid Prince, would not expell him out of his Kingdome: but so long as it remained to the said Prince and his posteritie, Joseph caused it to be free from all molestation. Afterward, Abdul Mumen, King of Maroco, having recovered Mahdia from the Christians, marched toward Tunis, and got possession thereof also. And so Tunis remained peaceably under the Dominion of the Kings of Maroco, so long as the King-

The building of Cairaoan.

Tunis subject unto Abdul-Mumen and other Kings of Maroco.

dome was governed by the said Abdul, and his sonne Joseph, and their successors Jacob and Mansor. But after the decease of Mansor, his sonne Mahumet Ennasir made warre against the King of Spaine, by whom being vanquished, he fled to Maroco, and there within few yeares ended his life. After him succeeded his brother Joseph, who was slaine by certaine souldiers of the King of Telensin. And so upon the death of Mahumet, and of his brother Joseph, the Arabians began to inhabite the Territorie of Tunis, and to make often siedges and assaults against the Citie it selfe: whereupon the Governour of Tunis advertised the King of Maroco, that unlesse present aide were sent, he must be constrained to yeeld Tunis unto the Arabians. The King therefore sent a certaine valiant Captaine, called Habduluahidi, and borne in Sivill, a Citie of Granada,* with a Fleete of twentie Sayles unto Tunis, which he found halfe destroyed by the Arabians: but so great was his eloquence and wisdome, that he restored all things to their former estate, and received the yearely tribute. After Habduluahidi succeeded his sonne Abu Zachheria, who in learning and dexteritie of wit, excelled his father. This Abu built a Castle upon a certaine high place of the West part of Tunis, which he adorned with faire buildings, and with a most beautifull Temple. Afterward, taking his journey unto the Kingdome of Tripolis, and returning home by the Southerne regions, he gathered tribute in all those places: so that after his decease, he left great treasure unto his sonne. And after Abu succeeded his sonne, who grew so insolent, that hee would not be subject to the King of Maroco, because hee perceived his Kingdome to decay: at the same time also had the Marin Family gotten possession of the Kingdome of Fez, and so was the Familie of Beni Zeijen possessed of the Kingdomes of Telensin and Granada. And so while all those Regions were at mutuall dissention, the [II. vi. 819.] Dominions of Tunis began mightily to encrease; insomuch, that the King of Tunis marched unto Telensin, and demanded tribute of the inhabitants. Wherefore the

*Or *perhaps Andaluzia.*

King of Fez, who as then laid siege against Maroco, craved by his Ambassadors the King of Tunis his friendship, and with great gifts obtained the same. Then the King of Tunis returning home Conquerour from Telensin, was received with great triumph, and was saluted King of all Africa, because indeed there was no Prince of Africa at the same time comparable unto him. Wherefore he began to ordaine a Royall Court, and to choose Secretaries, Counsellors, Captaines, and other Officers appertaining to a King; after the very same manner that was used in the Court of Maroco. And from the time of this King even
1526. till our times, the Kingdome of Tunis hath so prospered, that now it is accounted the richest Kingdome in all Africa. The said Kings sonne reigning after his fathers death, enlarged the Suburbs of Tunis with most stately buildings. Without the Gate called Bed Suvaica he built a streete, containing to the number of three hundred Families: and he built another street at the Gate, called Bed el Manera, consisting of more then a thousand Families. In both of these streetes dwell great store of Artificers, and in the street last mentioned, all the Christians of Tunis, which are of the Kings Guard, have their abode. Likewise, there is a third streete built at the Gate next unto the Sea, called Beb el Bahar, and being but halfe a mile distant from the Gulfe of Tunis. Hither doe the Genoueses, Venetians, and all other Christian Merchants resort, and here they repose themselves out of the tumult and concourse of the Moores: and this street is of so great bignesse, that it containeth three hundred Families of Christians and Moores; but the houses are very low, and of small receit. The Families of the Citie, together with them of the Suburbs, amount almost to the number of ten thousand. This stately and populous Citie hath a peculiar place assigned for each Trade and Occupation. Here dwell great store of Linnen-weavers, and the Linnen
A strange kind of spinning. that they weave is exceeding fine, and sold at a great price over all Africa. The women of this Towne use a strange kind of spinning: for standing upon an high place, or on

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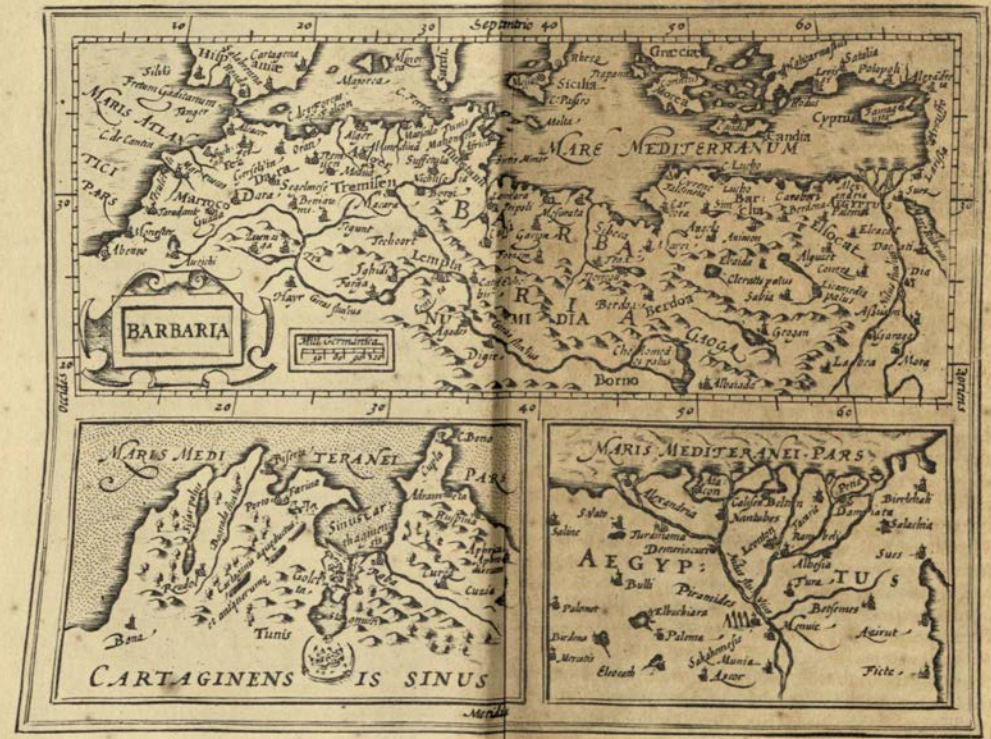

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF BARBARY AND EGYPT

the upper part of the house, they let downe their Spindles at a window, or through a hole of the plancher into a lower roome, so that the weight of the Spindle makes the thread very equall and even. The apparell of their Merchants, Priests, and Doctors is very decent. Upon their heads they were a Dulipan, which is covered with a great Linnen-cloath: the Courtiers likewise and the Souldiers weare all of them Dulipans, but not covered with Linnen. Rich men here are but few, by reason of the exceeding scarcitie of all kind of graine: for a man cannot till a piece of ground, be it never so neere the Citie, in regard of the manifold invasions of the Arabians. Corne is brought unto them from other Regions and Cities, as namely, from Urbs, from Beggi, and from Bona. Some of the Citizens of Tunis have certaine Fields in the Suburbs walled round about, where they sow some quantitie of Barley, and of other Corne: howbeit, the soyle is marveilous dry, and standeth in need of much watring: for which purpose every man hath a pit, whereout with a certaine wheele turned about by a Mule or a Camell, and through certaine conveyances and passages made for the nonce, they water all the upper part of their ground. Now consider (I pray you) what great crop of Corne can be reaped out of so little a Field, walled round about, and watred by such cunning and industrie. Bread they make very excellent, albeit they leave the Bran still among the Flower, and they bake their Loaves in certaine Mortars, such as the Egyptians use to beate Flaxe in. In this Citie they have no Fountaines, Rivers, nor Wells of fresh water: but they all use raine water taken out of Cisterns, saving that there is a Fountaine in the Suburbs, from whence certaine Porters bring salt water into the Citie to sell, which they thinke to bee more wholesome and fit for drinke then raine water. Other Wells there are that affoord most excellent water, which is reserved only for the King and his Courtiers. In this Citie there is one most stately Temple, furnished with sufficient number of Priests, and with rich revenues. Other

Temples there be also, but not endowed with so ample revenues: here are Colledges likewise and Monasteries built after their manner, all which are maintained upon the common benevolence of the Citie. There are certaine people in this Citie, whom a man would take to bee distracted, which goe bare-headed and bare-footed, carrying stones about with them, and these are reverenced by the common people for men of singular holinesse. Moreover, on the behalfe of one of these mad fellowes, called Sidi el Dahi, and for the residue of his fond Societie, the King of Tunis built one of the foresaid Monasteries, and endowed the same with most ample revenues. All the houses of this Citie are indifferently beautifull, being built of excellent stones, and adorned with much painting and carving. They have very artificiall pargettings or plaister-works, which they beautifie with Orient colours; for Wood to carve upon is very scarce at Tunis. The floores of their Chambers are paved with certaine shining and faire stones: and most of their houses are but of one storie high: and almost every house hath two Gates or entrances; one towards the street, and another towards the Kitchin and other back-roomes, betweene which Gates they have a faire Court, where they may walke and conferre with their friends. Povertie constraineth some of their women to leade an unchast life: they are decently apparelled, and going foorth of the house, they weare vailes or maskes before their faces, like unto the women of Fez: for with one Linnen-cloth they cover their fore-heads, and joyne thereto another which they call Setfari: but about their heads they lap such fardels of Linnen, as they seeme comparable to the heads of Giants. Most part of their substance and labour they bestow upon Perfumes and other such vanities. They have here a Compound, called Lhasis, whereof whosoever eateth but one Ounce, falleth a laughing, disporting, and dallying, as if he were halfe drunken, and is by the said Confection marvellously provoked unto lust.

Mad men, reverence mad men.

[II. vi. 820.]

So soone as the King of Tunis hath by inheritance

A.D. c. 1526.

attained to his Kingdome, all his Nobles, Doctors, Priests, and Judges, bind themselves by solemne Oath unto him. Immediatly after any Kings death, his sonne and heire apparent succeedeth in the Kingdome: then the chiefe Officer of the Court (called the Munafid, because he is the Kings Vice-Roy or High Deputie) presenteth himselfe forthwith unto the new King, and giveth up an account of all things which hee did while the old King lived: and then at the Kings appointment, everie of the Nobles receive Offices from the Munafid according to their severall places of dignitie. Another principall Officer there is, called the Mesuare, that is, the Great Commander and Governour of the warlike forces: who hath authority to increase or diminish the number of Souldiers, to give them their pay, to levie Armies, and to conduct the same whither he thinketh good. The third Officer in dignitie, is the Castellan, who with his Souldiers taketh charge of the Castle, and looketh to the safeguard of the Kings owne person: and he allotteth punishments unto such prisoners, as are brought into the said Castle, as if he were the King himselfe. The fourth Officer, is the Governour of the Citie, whose dutie is to administer Justice in the Common-wealth, and to punish Malefactors. The fifth Officer, is the Kings Secretarie, who hath authoritie to write, and to give answere in the Kings name: he may open also, and reade any Letters whatsoever, except such as are sent unto the Castellan and Governour of the Citie. The sixth, is the Kings Chiefe Chamberlaine, who is to furnish the Walles with Hangings, to appoint unto every man his place, and by a Messenger to assemble the Kings Counsellors; and this man hath great familiaritie with the King, and hath accesse to speake with him, as often as he pleaseth. The seventh in dignitie, is the Kings Treasurer, who receiveth all Customes, Tributes, and yearely revenues, and payeth them, with the Kings consent, unto the Munafid. These are the chiefe Officers under the King; of the residue (lest I should seeme tedious to the Reader) I have of purpose omitted to intreate of.

Of the King of Tunis his Court, and of the Rites and Ceremonies there used.

I could here make a large discourse of the Kings vices that now reigneth (at whose hands I confesse my selfe to have received great benefits) but that is not my purpose at this present: this one thing I can affirme, that he is marvellous cunning to procure money out of his subjects purses. But he himselfe liveth sometimes in his Palace, and sometimes in Gardens, in the company of his Concubines, Musicians, Stage-plaiers, and such like. When he calleth for any Musician, he is brought in blindfold or hoodwinked in manner of a Hawke.

Musician blindfold.

The Towne of El Mahdia, otherwise called Africa.

El Mahdia, founded in our time by Mahdi the first Patriarke of Cairaoan upon the Mediterran sea, and fortified with strong Walls, Towers, and Gates, hath a most noble Haven belonging thereto. Mahdi when he first entred into this Region, fained himselfe in an unknowne habite to be descended of the linage of Mahumet, whereby growing into great favour of the people, hee was by their assistance made Prince of Cairaon, and was called El Mahdi Califa: afterward travelling fortie dayes journey Westward into Numidia to receive tribute due unto him, he was taken by the Prince of Segelmesse, and put in prison; howbeit, the said Prince of Segelmesse being presently moved with compassion toward him, restored him to his former libertie, and was for his good will not long after slaine by him: afterward tyrannizing over the people, and perceiving some to conspire against him, he erected this Towne of Mahdia, to the end hee might there find safe refuge when need required. At length one Beiezid, a Mahumetan Prelate (whom they called the Cavalleir, or Knight of the Asse, because that riding continually upon an Asse, hee conducted an Armie of fortie thousand men) came unto Cairaoan: but Mahdi fled unto his new Towne, where with thirtie Sayle of ships, sent him by a Mahumetan Prince of Cordova, he so valiantly encountred the Enemie, that Beiezid and his sonne were both slaine in that battell: afterward returning to Cairaoan, hee grew in league and amitie with the Citizens, and so the government remained unto his posteritie for many yeares.

Of the great Citie of Cairaoan.

The famous Citie of Cairaoan, otherwise called Caroen, was founded by Hucba, who was sent generall of an Armie out of Arabia Desarta by Hutmen, the third Mahumetan Califa. From the Mediterran Sea, this Citie is distant sixe and thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: neither was it built (they say) for any other purpose, but onely that the Arabian Armie might securely rest therein with all such spoiles, as they wonne from the Barbarians, and the Numidians. He environed it with most impregnable Walls, and built therein a sumptuous Temple, supported with stately Pillars. The said Hucba after the death of Hutmen was ordained Prince of Muchavia, and governed the same till the time of Qualid Califa, the sonne of Habdul Malic, who as then reigned in Damasco. This Qualid sent a certaine Captaine, called Muse, the sonne of Nosair, with an huge Armie unto Cairaoan; who having staied a few dayes with his Armie not farre from Cairaoan, marched Westward, sacking and spoyling Townes and Cities, till hee came to the Ocean Sea shore, and then hee returned towards Cairaoan againe. From whence hee sent as his Deputie a certaine Captaine into Mauritania, who there also conquered many Regions and Cities: [II. vi. 821.] insomuch that Muse being mooved with a jealous emulation, commanded him to stay till himselfe came. His said Deputie therefore, called Tarich, encamped himselfe not farre from Andaluzia, whither Muse, within foure moneths came unto him with an huge Armie; from whence both of them with their Armies crossing the Seas, arrived in Granada, and so marched by land against the Gothes. Against whom Theodoricus, the King of Goths, opposing himselfe in battaile, was miserably vanquished. Then the foresaid two Captaines with all good successe proceeded even to Castilia, and sacked the Citie of Toledo, where amongst much other treasure, they found many Reliques of the Saints, and the very same Table whereat Christ sate with his blessed Apostles; which being covered with pure Gold, and adorned with great store of precious stones, was esteemed to bee worth halfe a million

Reliques.

of Ducats, and this Table, Muse carrying with him, as if it had been all the Treasure in Spaine, returned with his Armie over the Sea, and bent his course toward Cairaoan. And being in the meane space sent for by the Letters of Qualid Califa, hee sayled into Egypt: but arriving at Alexandria, it was told him by one Hescian, brother unto the said Califa, that the Califa his brother was fallen into a most dangerous disease: wherefore hee wished him not to goe presently unto Damasco, for feare least if the Califa died in the meane season, those rich and sumptuous Spoyles should be wasted and dispersed to no end. But Muse little regarding this counsell, proceeded on to Damasco, and presented all his Spoyles to the Califa, who within five dayes after deceased. After whom his brother succeeding Califa, deprived Muse of his dignitie, and substituted one Jezul into his roome, whose sonne, brother, and nephewes succeeding, governed the Citie of Cairaoan, till such time as the Familie of Qualid was deprived of that dignitie, and one Elagleb was appointed Lieutenant, who governed not the Towne as a Califa: from that time the Mahumetan Califas leaving Damasco, removed unto Bagaded, as wee find recorded in a certaine Chronicle. After the decease of Elagleb, succeeded his sonne, and the government remained unto his posteritie for an hundred threescore and tenne yeares, till such time as they were deprived thereof by one Mahdi Califa. But at the same time when Elagleb was Governour, the Citie of Cairaoan was so increased, both with inhabitants and buildings, that a Towne, called Recheda, was built next unto it, where the Prince with his Nobles used to remaine.

The Ile of Sicilie subdued by the Governour of Cairaoan.

In his time also the Ile of Sicilia was wonne: for Elagleb sent thither a certaine Captaine, called Halcama, who built upon the said Iland a Towne in stead of a Fort, calling it according to his owne name, Halcama; which name is used by the Sicilians even till this present. Afterward this new Towne was besieged by certaine people that came to aide the Sicilians. Whereupon one Ased was sent with an Armie, and so the Moores Forces being augmented,

they conquered the residue of Sicilia by which meanes the Dominions of Cairaoan began wonderfully to increase. The Citie of Cairaoan standeth upon a Sandie and Desart Plaine, which beareth no Trees, nor yet any Corne at all. In this Citie for certaine yeares the studie of the Mahumetan Law mightily flourished, so that here were the most famous Lawyers in all Africa. It was at length destroyed, and replanted againe with new inhabitants, but it could never attaine unto the former estate. At this present it is inhabited by none but Leather-dressers, who send their Leather unto the Cities of Numidia, and exchange it also for Cloath of Europe.

A River of hot water.

A mile and a half to the South of El Hamma beginneth a certain River of hot water to Spring, which being brought through the midst of the Citie by certaine Chanels, is so deepe that it will reach up to a mans navell: howbeit, by reason of the extreme heate of the water, there are but few that wil enter thereinto. And yet the inhabitants use it for drinke, having set it a cooling almost an whole day. At length this River not far from the Towne maketh a certain Lake, which is called the Lake of Leapers: for it is of wonderfull force to heale the disease of leprosie, and to cure leprous sores: wherefore neere unto it are divers Cottages of Leapers, some of whom are restored to their health. The said water tasteth in a manner like Brimstone, so that it will nothing at all quench a mans thirst, whereof I my selfe have had often triall.

The Lake of Lepers.

Of the Ile of Gerbi or Zerbi, where John Leo the Author of this Historie was taken by Italian Pirates, and carried thence to Rome.

Gerbi being neere unto the firme land of Africa, and consisting of a Plaine and Sandy ground, aboundeth exceedingly with Dates, Vines, Olives, and other fruits, and containeth about eighteene miles in compasse.

The old Citie of Tripolis.

Old Tripolis built also by the Romans, was after wonne by the Goths, and lastly by the Mahumetans, in the time of Califa Homar the second. Which Mahumetans having besieged the Governour of Tripoli sixe moneths together, compelled him at length to flee unto Carthage. The Citizens were partly slaine, and partly carried captive

into Egypt and Arabia, as the most famous African Historiographer, Ibnu Rachich reporteth.

The new Citie of Tripolis in Barbarie.

After the destruction of old Tripolis, there was built another Citie of that name: which Citie being invironed with most high and beautifull walls, but not very strong, is situate upon a Sandy Plaine, which yeeldeth great store of Dates. The houses of this City are most stately, in respect of the Houses of Tunis; and here also every trade and occupation hath a severall place. Weavers here are many. They have no Wells nor Fountaines; but all their water is taken out of Cisterns. Corne in this Citie is at an exceeding rate; for all the Fields of Tripoli are as sandy and barren as the fields of Numidia. In this Citie were many faire Temples and Colledges built, and an Hospitall also for the maintenance of their owne poore people, and for the entertainment of strangers. Their fare is very base and homely, being onely Besis or Dumplings made of Barley meale: for that Region affoordeth so small quantitie even of Barley, that he is accounted a wealthy man that hath a bushell or two of corne in store. The Citizens are most of them Merchants; for Tripolis standeth neere unto Numidia and Tunis, neither is there any Citie or Towne of account betweene it and Alexandria: neither is it farre distant from the Iles of Sicilia and Malta: and unto the Port of Tripolis Venetian Ships yeerely resort, and bring thither great store of Merchandize. This Citie hath alwayes beene subject unto the King of Tunis: but when Abulhasen the King of Fez besieged Tunis, the King of Tunis was constrained with his Arabians to flee into the Desarts. Howbeit, when Abulhasen was conquered, the King of Tunis returned to his Kingdome: but his subjects began to oppose themselves against him: and so that Common-wealth was afterward grievously turmoyled with civill dissensions and warres. Whereof the King of Fez having intelligence, marched the fifth yeere of the said civill warre with an armie against the Citie of Tunis, and having vanquished the King thereof, and constrained him to flee unto Con-

Plenty of Dates.

[II. vi. 822.]

stantina, he so straitly besieged him, that the Citizens of Constantina seeing themselves not able to withstand the King of Fez, opened their Citie gates to him and to all his armie. Whereupon the King of Tunis was carried captive unto Fez, and was afterward kept a while prisoner in the Castle of Septa. In the meane season Tripolis was by a Genouese Fleet of twenty sailes surprised and sacked, and the Inhabitants carried away captive. Whereof the King of Fez being advertised, gave the Genoueses fiftie thousand Ducats, upon condition, that he might enjoy the Towne in peace. But the Genoueses having surrendred the Towne, perceived after their departure, that most part of their Ducats were counterfeit. Afterward, the King of Tunis beeing restored unto his former liberttie by Abuselim King of Fez, returned home unto his Kingdome, and so the governement thereof remained unto him and his posteritie, till Abubar the sonne of Hutmen together with his young sonne was slaine in the Castle of Tripolis by a nephew of his, who afterward usurped the Kingdome: but he was slaine in a battell which he fought against Habdul Mumen, who presently thereupon became Lord of Tripolis. After him succeeded his sonne Zacharias, who within a few moneths dyed of the pestilence. After Zacharias, Mucamen the sonne of Hesen, and cousin to Zacharias was chosen King; who beginning to tyrannize over the Citizens was by them expelled out of his Kingdome: and afterward a certaine Citizen was advanced unto the Royall Throne, who governed very modestly. But the King which was before expelled, sent an army of Souldiers against Tripolis, who loosing the field, were all of them put to flight. Afterward, the King that began to Raigne so modestly, prooved a very tyrant, and being murthered by his kinsmen, the people made choise of a certaine Nobleman, leading as then a Heremits life, and in a manner against his will appointed him their Governour: and so the government of the Citie of Tripolis remained unto him and his posteritie, till such time as King Ferdinando sent Don Pedro de Navarra against it:

Tripolis taken by a Fleete of Genowaies.

Tripolis surprised by Pedro de Navarra.

who on the sudden encountring this City, carried away many captives with him. The Governour of Tripolis and his sonne in-law were sent prisoners unto Messina. Where, after certaine yeeres imprisonment, they were restored by the Emperour Charles the fift, unto their former liberty, and returned unto Tripolis, which Towne was afterward destroyed by the Christians. The Castle of Tripolis being environed with most strong walles, begin (as I understand) to be replanted with new Inhabitants.

The Mountaines are omitted.

§. VI.

Collections taken out of John Leo his sixt Booke of the Historie of Africa.

IN Barca they have not any Corne growing at all. But Corne and other necessaries are brought unto them by Sea from Sicilia, which that every of them may purchase, they are constrained to lay their sonnes to gage, and then goe rob and rifle travellers to redeeme them againe. Never did you heare of more cruell and bloody theeves: for after they have robbed Merchants of all their goods and apparell, they powre warme milke downe their throats, hanging them up by the heeles upon some tree, and forcing them to cast their gorge, wherein the lewd varlets search diligently for gold, suspecting that the Merchants swallowed up their Crownes before they entred that dangerous Desart.

The Arabians of Barca most cruell and bloody theeves.

Being about to describe all the Cities and Townes of Numidia, I will first begin with Tesset: which ancient Towne built by the Numidians, neere unto the Libyan Desarts, and environed with walles of Sun-dried Bricke, deserveth scarcely the name of a Towne; and yet containeth foure hundred Families. It is compassed round about with sandy Plaines, saving that neere unto the Towne grow some store of Dates, of Mill-seed, and of Barley, which the miserable Townesmen use for food. They are constrained also to pay large Tribute unto the Arabians Inhabiting the next Desarts. They exercise

Tesset.

[II. vi. 823.]

traffique in the land of Negroes and in Guzula, insomuch, that they spend most of their time in forren Regions. They are of a blacke colour, and destitute of all learning. The women indeed teach their young children the first rudiments of learning, but before they can attaine to any perfection, they are put to labour, and to the Plough-tayle. The said women are somewhat whiter then other women: some of them get their living by spinning and carding of wooll, and the residue spend their time in idlenesse. Such as are accounted richest in this Region, possesse but very few Cattell. They Till their ground with an Horse and a Camell, which kind of Plowing is observed throughout all Numidia. *Plowing with a Horse and a Camell.*

Guaden situate upon the Numidian Desart, neere unto Libia, is Inhabited by most miserable and grosse people. Heere groweth nothing but Dates: and the Inhabitants are at such enmitie with their neighbours, that it is dangerous for them to goe abroad. Howbeit, they give themselves to hunting, and take certaine wilde Beasts called Elamth, and Ostriches, neither doe they eate any other flesh. All their Goats they reserve for milke. And these people also are blacke of colour. *The village of Guaden.* *The beast called Elamth.*

The Province of Dara beginneth at Mount Atlas, extendeth it selfe Southward by the Desarts of Libia, almost two hundred and fiftie miles, and the breadth thereof is very narrow. All the Inhabitants dwell upon a certaine River which is called by the name of the Province. This River sometime so overfloweth, that a man would thinke it to be a Sea, but in Summer it so diminisheth, that any one may passe over it on foot. If so be it overfloweth about the beginning of Aprill, it bringeth great plenty unto the whole Region: if not, there followeth great scarcitie of Corne. Upon the banke of this River there are sundry Villages and Hamlets, and divers Castles also, which are environed with walles made of Sunne-dried Bricke and Mortar. All their Beames and Planchers consist of Date-trees, being notwithstanding unfit for the purpose; for the wood of Date-trees is not solid, but *The Province of Dara.* *Dara River.* *The quality thereof.*

flexible and spungie. On either side of the said River for the space of five or sixe miles, the fields abound exceedingly with Dates, which with good keeping will last many yeeres: and as heere are divers kinds of Dates, so they are sold at sundry prices: for a bushell of some is woorth a Ducat, but others wherewith they feede their Horses and Camels, are scarce of a quarter so much value. Of Date-trees some are male and female: the male bring foorth flowers onely, and the female fruit: but the flowers of the female will not open, unlesse the boughes and flowers of the male be joyned unto them: And if they bee not joyned, the Dates will proove starke naught, and containe great stones. The Inhabitants of Dara live upon Barley and other grosse meate: neither may they eate no bread but onely upon Festivall dayes. Their Castles are Inhabited by Gold-smithes and other Artificers, and so are all the Regions lying in the way from Tombuto to Fez: in this Province also there are three or foure proper Townes, frequented Merchants and strangers, and containing many Shops and Temples. But the principall Towne called Beni Sabih, and Inhabited with most valiant and liberall people, is divided into two parts, either part having a severall Captaine or Governour: which Governours are oftentimes at great dissension, and especially when they moisten their arable Grounds, by reason that they are so skanted of water. A Merchant they will most courteously entertaine a whole yeere together, and then friendly dismissing him, they require nought at his hands, but will accept such liberality as he thinkes good to bestow upon them. The said Governours so often as they fall a skirmishing, hire the next Arabians to aide them, allowing them daily halfe a Ducat for their pay, and sometimes more, and giving them their allowance every day. In time of peace they trim their Harquebuzes, Hand-guns, and other weapons: neither saw I ever (to my remembrance) more cunning Harquebuziers then at this place. In this Province groweth great store of Indico, being an herbe like unto the wilde woad, and this herbe they ex-

The strange propertie of the Palme or Date tree.

Bread daintie.

Indico.

change with the Merchants of Fez and Tremisen for other wares. Corne is very scarce among them, and is brought thither from Fez and other Regions, neither have they any great store of Goats or Horses, unto whom in stead of Provender they give Dates, and a kind of herbe also which groweth in the Kingdome of Naples, and is called by the Neapolitans Farfa. They feed their Goats with the Nuts or Stones of their Dates beaten to powder, whereby they grow exceeding fat, and yeeld great quantity of milke. Their owne food is the flesh of Camels and Goats, being unsavory and displeasant in taste. Likewise they kill and eate Ostriches, the flesh whereof tasteth not much unlike to the flesh of a dunghill-cocke, saving that it is more tough and made of a stronger smell, especially the Ostriches legge: which consisteth of slime flesh. Their women are faire, fat, and courteous: and they keepe divers slaves which are brought out of the land of Negroes.

Goats fed with Dates.

The flesh of the Ostrich.

The Provinces of Segelmesse, Cheneg, Matgara, &c. are omitted.

This Territory extending it selfe along the River of Ziz from North to South almost twentie miles, contayneth about three hundred and fiftie Castles, besides Villages and Hamlets: three of which Castles are more principall then the rest. The first called Tenegent, and consisting of a thousand and moe Families, standeth neere unto the Citie of Segelmesse, and is inhabited with great store of Artificers. The second called Tebuhasan, standeth about eight miles to the South of Tenegent, being furnished also with great numbers of Inhabitants, and so frequented with Merchants, that there is not in that respect the like place to bee found in all the whole Region besides. The third called Mamun, is resorted unto by sundry Merchants, both Jewes and Moores.

The Territory of Segelmesse.

[II. vi. 824.]

These three Castles have three severall Governours, who are at great dissention among themselves. They will oftentimes destroy one anothers Chanels, whereby their fields are watered, which cannot without great cost be repayred againe. They will stow the Palme-trees also to the very stockes: and unto them a company of lewd

Arabians associate themselves. They Coyne both Silver and Gold money: but their Gold is not very speciall. Their Silver Coyne weigheth foure graines a piece, eightie of which pieces are esteemed to bee worth one piece of their Gold Coyne. The Jewes and Arabians pay excessive Tribute here. Some of their principall men are exceeding rich, and use great Traffique unto the Land of Negros: whither they transport Wares of Barbarie, exchanging the same for Gold and Slaves. The Territory of Segelmesse live upon Dates, except it be in certaine places where some Corne grew. Here are infinite numbers of Scorpions, but no Flyes at all. In Summer time this Region is extremely hot, and then are the Rivers so destitute of water, that the people are constrayned to draw salt water out of certaine Pits. The said Territory contayneth in circuit about eighty miles, all which, after the destruction of Segelmesse, the Inhabitants with small cost walled round about, to the end they might not be molested by continuall inrodes of Horsemen. While they lived all at unitie and concord, they retayned their libertie: but since they fell to mutuall debate, their wall was razed, and each faction invited the Arabians to helpe them, under whom by little and little they were brought in subjection.

Infinite numbers of Scorpions.

The Towne or Citie of Segelmesse.

The common people together with one of our African Cosmographers, called Bicri, suppose that the Towne of Segelmesse was built by Alexander the Great, for the reliefe of his sicke and wounded Souldiers. Which opinion seemeth not probable to me: for I could never reade that Alexander the Great came into any part of these Regions. This Towne was situate upon a Plaine neere unto the River of Ziz, and was environed with most stately and high wals, even as in many places it is to be seene at this present. When the Mahumetans came first into Africa, the Inhabitants of this Towne were subject unto the Family of Zeneta; which Family was at length dispossessed of that authority by King Joseph the Sonne of Tesfin, of the Family of Luntuna. The Towne it selfe was very gallantly built, and the Inhabitants were rich,

and had great traffique unto the Land of Negros. Here stood stately Temples and Colledges also, and great store of Conduits, the water whereof was drawne out of the River by Wheeles. The Ayre in this place is most temperate and holesome, saving that in Winter it aboundeth with overmuch moysture.

The Castle of Ummelhesen.

Ummelhesen is a forlorne and base Castle, founded by the Arabians also, five and twentie miles from Segelmesse upon a Desart, directly in the way from Segelmesse to Dara. It is environed with blacke wals, and continually garded by the Arabians. All Merchants that passe by, pay one fourth part of a Duckat for every Camels lode. My selfe travelling this way upon a time in the company of fourteene Jewes, and being demanded how many there were of us, wee said thirteene, but after I began particularly to reckon, I found the fourteenth and the fifteenth man amongst us, whom the Arabians would have kept Prisoners, had wee not affirmed them to bee Mahumetans: howbeit not crediting our words, they examined them in the Law of Mahumet, which when they perceived them indeed to understand, they permitted them to depart.

The Castles of Fighig.

The three Castles of Fighig stand upon a certaine Desart, marvellously abounding with Dates. The women of this place weave a kind of cloth in forme of a Carpet, which is so fine, that a man would take it to be Silke, and this Cloth they sell at an excessive rate at Fez, Telensin, and other places of Barbarie. The Inhabitants being men of an excellent wit, doe part of them use Traffique to the Land of Negros, and the residue become Students at Fez: and so soone as they have attayned to the degree of a Doctor, they returne to Numidia, where they are made either Priests or Senators, and prove most of them men of great wealth and reputation. From Segelmesse, the said Castles are distant almost an hundred and fiftie miles Eastward.

The Region of Tegorarin.

This great and large Region of Tegorarin in the Numidian Desart, standing about an hundred and twentie miles Eastward of Tesebit, contayneth fiftie Castles, and above

an hundred Villages, and yeeldeth great plentie of Dates. The Inhabitants are rich, and have ordinarie Traffique to the Land of Negros. Their fields are very apt for Corne, and yet by reason of their extreme drought, they stand in need of continuall watering and dunging. They allow unto strangers houses to dwell in, requiring no money for rent but onely their dung, which they keepe most charily: yea, they take it in ill part if any stranger easeth himselfe without the doores. Flesh is very scarce among them: for their soyle is so dry, that it will scarce nourish any Cattell at all: they keepe a few Goats indeed for their Milkes sake: but the flesh that they eate is of Camels, which the Arabians bring unto their Markets to sell: they mingle their meate with salt Tallow, which is brought into this Region from Fez and Tremizen. There were in times past many rich Jewes in this Region, who by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan Preacher, were at length expelled, and a great part of them slaine by the seditious people; and that in the very same yeare when the Jewes were expelled out of Spaine and Sicily.

Jewes expelled.

[II. vi. 825.] *The Towne of Techort.*

The ancient Towne of Techort was built by the Numidians upon a certaine Hill, by the foot whereof runneth a River, upon which River standeth a draw-bridge. The wall of this Towne was made of free stone and lime, but that part which is next unto the Mountayne hath instead of a wall an impregnable Rocke opposite against it: this Towne is distant five hundred miles Southward from the Mediterran Sea, and about three hundred miles from Tegorarim. Families it contayneth to the number of five and twenty hundred: all the houses are built of Sunne dryed Brickes, except their Temple which is somewhat more stately. Heere dwell great store both of Gentlemen and Artificers: and because they have great abundance of Dates, and are destitute of Corne, the Merchants of Constantina exchange Corne with them for their Dates.

Hospitalitie and love to strangers.

All strangers they favour exceedingly, and friendly dismisse them without paying of ought. They had rather match their Daughters unto strangers, then to their owne

Citizens: and for a Dowry they give some certaine portion of Land, as it is accustomed in some places of Europe. So great and surpassing is their liberalitie, that they will heape many gifts upon strangers, albeit they are sure never to see them againe.

The Governour at this present called Habdulla, is a valiant and liberall yong Prince, and most courteous unto strangers, whereof I my selfe conversing with him for certayne dayes, had good experience.

This Region is extremely hot, sandie and destitute both of Water and Corne: which wants are partly supplyed by their abundance of Dates. It contayneth to the number of five Townes and many Villages, all which we purpose in order to describe.

The Towne of Pescara.

Their soyle in Pescara, yeeldeth nought but Dates. They have beene governed by divers Princes; for they were a while subject unto the Kings of Tunis, and that to the death of King Hutmen, after whom succeeded a Mahumetan Priest: neyther could the Kings of Tunis ever since that time recover the Dominion of Pescara. Here are great abundance of Scorpions, and it is present death to bee stung by them: wherefore all the Townesmen in a manner depart into the Countrey in Summer time, where they remayne till the moneth of November.

Deadly Scorpions.

Deusen.

Not farre from Deusen are divers Monuments of Antiquitie like unto Sepulchres, wherein are found sundry pieces of Silver Coyne, adorned with certayne Letters and Hieroglyphicall Figures, the interpretation whereof I could never find out.

The Towne of Caphsa.

The ancient Towne of Caphsa built also by the Romanes, had for certayne yeeres a Governour of their owne: but afterward being sacked by one Hucba a Captaine of Hutmen Califa, the wals thereof were razed to the ground; but the Castle as yet remayneth, and is of great force; for the wall thereof being five and twentie Cubits high, and five Cubits thicke, is made of excellent stones, like unto the stones of Vespasians Amphitheatre at Rome. Afterward the Towne wals were re-edified,

and were destroyed againe by Mansor, who having slaine the Governour of the Towne and all the Inhabitants, appointed a new Governour over the same place. Now this Towne is very populous, all the houses thereof, except the Temple and a few other buildings, being very deformed and base, and the streets are paved with blacke stones, like unto the streets of Naples and Florence. The poore Inhabitants are continually oppressed with the exactions of the King of Tunis. In the middest of the Towne are certaine square, large, and deepe Fountaines walled round about, the water whereof is hot and unfit to be drunke, unlesse it be set an houre or two a cooling. The Ayre of this place is very unholesome, insomuch that the greatest part of the Inhabitants are continually sicke of Fevers. People they are of a rude and illiberall disposition, and unkind unto strangers: wherefore they are had in great contempt by all other Africans. Not farre from this Towne are fields abounding with Dates, Olives, and Pome-citrons: and the Dates and Olives there are the best in all the whole Province: heere is likewise most excellent Oyle. The Inhabitants make themselves Shooes of Buckes Leather.

Having hitherto described all the Regions of Numidia, let us now proceed unto the description of Libya; which is divided into five parts, as we signified in the beginning of this our Discourse. We will therefore beginne at the dry and forlorne Desart of Zanhaga, which bordereth Westward upon the Ocean Sea, and extendeth Eastward to the Salt-pits of Tegaza, Northward it abutteth upon Sus, Haccha, and Dara, Regions of Numidia; and Southward it stretcheth to the Land of Negros, adjoyning it selfe unto the Kingdomes of Gualata and Tombuto.

Water scarce. Water is here to be found scarce in an hundred miles travell, beeing salt and unsavourie, and drawne out of deepe Wels, especially in the way from Segelmesse to Tombuto. Heere are great store of wilde beasts and creeping things, whereof wee will make mention in place convenient. In this Region there is a barren Desart

called Azaoad, wherein neyther water nor any Habitations are to be found in the space of an hundred miles; beginning from the Well of Azaoad, to the Well of Araoan, which is distant from Tombuto about one hundred and fiftie miles. Here both for lacke of water and extremitie of heate, great numbers of men and beast daily perish. *Heate and drought.*

Not farre from Agadez, there is found great store of Manna, which the Inhabitants gather in certaine little Vessels, carrying it while it is new unto the Market of Agadez: and this Manna beeing mingled with water they esteeme very daintie and precious Drinke. They put it also into their Pottage, and beeing so taken, it hath a marvellous force of refrigerating or cooling, which is the cause that here are so few Diseases; albeit, the Ayre of Tombuto and Agadez be most unholsome and corrupt. This Desart stretcheth from North to South almost three hundred miles. *Great store of Manna.* [II. vi. 826.]

The residue of the Libyan Desart, that is to say, from Augela to the River of Nilus is inhabited by certayne Arabians and Africans, commonly called Levata: and this is the extreme Easterly part of the Desarts of Libya. *Levata, Berdoa, and others are omitted.*

This Region bordering upon the Ocean Sea, contayneth many Villages and Hamlets, and is inhabited with most beggerly people. It standeth betweene Numidia and Libya, but somewhat neerer unto Libya. Here groweth neyther Barley nor any other Corne. Some Dates heere are, but very unsavourie. The Inhabitants are continually molested by the Arabians invasions: and some of them traffique in the Kingdome of Gualata. *The Region of Nun.*

In the Region of Tegaza, is great store of Salt digged, being whiter then any Marble. This Salt is taken out of certaine Caves or Pits, at the entrance whereof stand their Cottages that worke in the Salt Mines. And these Workmen are all strangers, who sell the Salt which they digge unto certaine Merchants, that carrie the same upon Camels to the Kingdome of Tombuto, where there would otherwise be extreme scarcitie of Salt. Neyther have the said Diggers of Salt any victuals but such as the Merchants *The Region of Tegaza.* *Salt Mines.* *Tombuto.*

bring unto them: for they are distant from all inhabited places, almost twentie dayes Journey, insomuch, that oftentimes they perish for lacke of food, when as the Merchants come not in due time unto them: Moreover, the South-east wind doth so often blind them, that they cannot live here without great perill. I my selfe continued three dayes amongst them, all which time I was constrayned to drinke Salt water drawne out of certaine Wels not farre from the Salt Pits.

The Region Berdoa.

Berdoa, a Region situate in the midst of the Libyan Desart, and standing almost five hundred miles from Nilus, contayneth three Castles and five or sixe Villages, abounding with most excellent Dates. And the said three Castles were discovered eighteene yeeres agoe, by one Hamar, in manner following: the Caravan of Merchants wandring out of the direct way, had a certaine blind man in their company which was acquainted with all those Regions: this blind Guide riding foremost upon his Camell, commanded some Sand to be given him at every miles end, by the smell whereof hee declared the situation of the place: but when they were come within fortie miles of this Region, the blind man smelling of the Sand, affirmed, that they were not farre from some places inhabited; which some beleeved not, for they knew that they were distant from Egypt foure hundred and eightie miles, so that they tooke themselves to bee neerer unto Augela. Howbeit, within three dayes they found the said three Castles, the Inhabitants whereof wondering at the approach of strangers, and being greatly astonied, presently shut all their Gates, and would give the Merchants no water to quench their extreme thirst. But the Merchants by mayne force entred, and having gotten water sufficient, betooke themselves againe to their Journey.

A whole Caravan conducted by a blind Guide who lead them by scent onely; as at this present the Caravans of Maroco are conducted over the Libyan Desarts to Tombuto.

The Region of Alguechet.

Alguechet also being a Region of the Lybian Desart, is from Egypt an hundred and twentie miles distant. Here are three Castles and many Villages abounding with Dates. The Inhabitants are blacke, vile, and covetous people, and yet exceeding rich: for they dwell in the

midway betweene Egypt and Gaoga. They have a Governour of their owne, notwithstanding they pay Tribute unto the next Arabians.

§. VII.

Extracts taken out of John Leo his seventh Booke of the Historie of Africa, wherein he intreateth of the Land of Negros, and of the Confines of Egypt.

Bichri and Meshudi.

OUr ancient Chroniclers of Africa, to wit, Bichri and Meshudi, knew nothing in the Land of Negros, but onely the Regions of Guechet and Cano: for in their time all other places of the Land of Negros were undiscovered. But in the yeere of the Hegeira three hundred and eightie, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie, the residue of the said Land was found out, beeing as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which lived a brutish and savage life, without any King, Governour, Common-wealth, or knowledge of Husbandry. Clad they were in skinnes of beasts, neither had they any peculiar wives: in the day time they kept their Cattell; and when night came they resorted ten or twelve, both men and women into one Cottage together, using hayrie skinnes in stead of beds, and each man choosing his Leman which hee had most fancie unto. Warre they wage against no other Nation, nor yet are desirous to travell out of their owne Countrey. [II. vi. 827.] Some of them performe great adoration unto the Sunne-rising: others, namely the people of Gualata, worship the fire: and some others, to wit, the Inhabitants of Gaoga, approach (after the Egyptians manner) neerer unto the Christian Faith. These Negros were first subject unto King Joseph the Founder of Maroco, and afterward unto the five Nations of Libya; of whom they learned the Mahumetan Law, and divers needfull handi-crafts: a while after when the Merchants of Barbarie began to resort unto them with Merchandize, they learned the Barbarian

Negro, Barbarian Savages. Religion.

The Negros subject unto Joseph King of Maroco.

language also. But the foresaid five people or Nations of Libya divided this land so among themselves, that every third part of each Nation possessed one Region. Howbeit, the King of Tombuto that now raigneth, called Abuacre Izchia, is a Negro by birth: this Abuacre after the decease of the former King, who was a Lybyan borne, slue all his sonnes, and so usurped the Kingdome. And having by warres for the space of fifteene yeere conquered many large Dominions, hee then concluded a league with all Nations, and went on Pilgrimage to Mecca, in which Journey hee so consumed his Treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other Princes. Moreover, the fifteene Kingdomes of the land of Negros knowen to us, are all situate upon the River of Niger, and upon other Rivers which fall therinto. And all the land of Negros standeth betweene two vast Desarts, for on the one side lyeth the maine Desart betweene Numidia and it, which extendeth it selfe unto this very land: and the South side thereof adjoyneth upon another Desart, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean: in which Desart are infinite Nations unknowen to us, both by reason of the huge distance of place, and also in regard of the diversitie of Languages and Religions. They have no traffique at all with our people, but we have heard oftentimes of their traffique with the Inhabitants of the Ocean Sea shoare.

Abuacre Izchia.

Mecca.

Niger.

A description of the Kingdome of Gualata.

The Region of Gualata in regard of others is very small: for it containeth onely three great Villages, with certaine Granges and fields of Dates. From Nun it is distant Southward about three hundred, from Tombuto Northward five hundred, and from the Ocean Sea about two hundred miles. In this Region the people of Libya, while they were Lords of the land of Negros, ordained their chiefe Princely seate: and then great store of Barbarie Merchants frequented Gualata: but afterward in the Raigne of the Mightie and rich Prince Heli, the said Merchants leaving Gualata, began to resort unto Tombuto and Gago, which was the occasion that the Region of

Gualata grew extreme beggerly. The language of this Region is called Sungai, and the Inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly unto strangers. In my time this Region was conquered by the King of Tombuto, and the Prince thereof fled into the Desarts, whereof the King of Tombuto having intelligence, and fearing least the Prince would returne with all the people of the Desarts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely Tribute unto him, and so the said Prince hath remained Tributarie to the King of Tombuto untill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the Inhabitants of the next Desart. Heere groweth some quantity of Mil-seed, and great store of a round and white kinde of pulse, the like whereof I never saw in Europe; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both the men and the women doe so cover their heads, that all their countenance is almost hidden. Heere is no forme of a Common-wealth, nor yet any Governours or Judges, but the people lead a most miserable life.

This round & white pulse is called Maiz in the West Indies.

The Kingdome called by the Merchants of our Nation Gheneoa, by the naturall Inhabitants thereof Genni, and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea, standeth in the midst betweene Gualata on the North, Tombuto on the East, and the Kingdome of Melli on the South. In length it containeth almost five hundred miles, and extended two hundred and fifty miles along the River of Niger, and bordereth upon the Ocean Sea in the same place, where Niger falleth into the said Sea. This place exceedingly aboundeth with Barley, Rice, Cattell, Fishes, and Cotten: and their Cotten they sell unto the Merchants of Barbarie, for cloth of Europe, for Brazen vessels, for Armour, and other such commodities. Their Coine is of Gold without any stampe or inscription at all: they have certaine Iron-money also, which they use about matters of small value, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this Kingdome there is no fruit to be found but only Dates, which are brought hither either out of Gualata or

A description of the Kingdome of Ghinea. We extend the Countrey of Guinnie further, by applying the name knowen to the remote Regions unknowen. The naturall commodities of Ghinea.

Numidia. Heere is neither Towne nor Castle, but a certaine great Village onely, wherein the Prince of Ghinea, together with his Priests, Doctors, Merchants, and all the principall men of the Region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of Chalke, and the roofes are covered with Strawe: the Inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew Cotten, wherewith they cover their heads also: but the Priests and Doctors of their Law goe apparelled in white Cotten. This Region during the three moneths of July, August, and September, is yeerely environed with the overflowings of Niger in manner of an Iland; all which time the Merchants of Tombuto conveigh their Merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow Boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the shoare, and lodge themselves upon the land. This Kingdome was subject in times past unto a certaine people of Libya, and became afterward Tributarie unto King Soni Heli, after whom succeeded Soni Heli Izchia, who kept the Prince of this Region prisoner at Gago, where together with a certaine Nobleman, he miserably died.

Priests, & Doctors clothed in white.

[II. vi. 828.] *The Prince of Guinea kept prisoner by Izchia.*

The Kingdom of Melli.

The Region of Melli extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a River which falleth into Niger, bordereth Northward upon the Region last described, Southward upon certaine Desarts and drie Mountaines, Westward, upon huge Woods and Forrests, stretching to the Ocean Sea shoare, And Eastward upon the Territorie of Gago. In this Kingdome there is a large and ample Village containing to the number of sixe thousand or moe Families, and called Melli, whereof the whole Kingdome is so named. And heere the King hath his place of Residence. The Region it selfe yeeldeth great abundance of Corne, Flesh, and Cotton. Heere are many Artificers and Merchants in all places: and yet the King honorably entertaineth all strangers. The Inhabitants are rich, and have plenty of wares. Heere are great store of Temples, Priests, and Professors, which Professors read their Lectures onely in the Temples, because they have no

Professors.

Colledges at all. The people of this Region excell all other Negros in wit, civility, and industry; and were the first that embraced the Law of Mahumet, at the same time when the Uncle of Joseph the King of Maroco was their Prince, and the Government remained for a while unto his posteritie: at length Izchia subdued the Prince of this Region, and made him his Tributarie, and so oppressed him with grievous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his Family.

The Prince of Melli subdued by Izchia.

Tombuto is so called of a certaine Towne so called, which (they say) King Mense Suleiman founded in the yeere of the Hegeira 610. and it is situate within twelve miles of a certaine branch of Niger, all the houses whereof are now changed into Cottages built of Chalke, and covered with Thatch. Howbeit, there is a most stately Temple to be seene, the walles whereof are made of stone and lime; and a Princely Palace also built by a most excellent workeman of Granada. Heere are many shops of Artificers, and Merchants, and especially of such as weave Linnen or Cotten cloth. And hither doe the Barbarie Merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this Region except Maid-servants goe with their faces covered, and sell all necessary victuals. The Inhabitants, and especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, insomuch, that the King that * now is, married both his daughters unto two rich Merchants. Heere are many welles, containing most sweet water; and so often as the River Niger overfloweth, they conveigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the Towne. Corne, Cattell, Milke, and Butter, this Region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is very scarce heere; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is five hundred miles distant. When I my selfe was heere, I saw one Camels load of Salt sold for eightie Duckats. The rich King of Tombuto hath many Plates and Scepters of Gold, some whereof weigh one thousand and three hundred pounds: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished Court. When he travelleth any whither he rideth upon a Camell, which is lead by

The Kingdom of Tombuto. Tombuto was conquered by the King of Maroco 1589. from whence he had for yeerely Tribute mighty sums of money. But the civil wars have altered that state since.

*1526.

The King of Tombuto his daughters married unto two rich merchants. Great scarcity of salt in Tombuto, which commodity might be supplied by our English Merchants to their unspeakable gaine.

some of his Noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfare, and all his Souldiers ride upon Horses.

Reverence used before the King of Tombuto.

Whosoever will speake unto this King must first fall downe before his feet, and then taking up earth, must sprinkle it upon his owne head and shoulders: which custome is ordinarily observed by them that never saluted the King before, or come as Ambassadours from other Princes. He hath alwayes three thousand Horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysoned arrowes, attending upon him. He so deadly hateth all Jewes, that he will not admit any into his Citie: and whatsoever Barbarie Merchants he understandeth to have any dealings with the Jewes, he presently causeth their goods to be confiscate. Heere are great store of Doctors, Judges, Priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the Kings cost and charges. And hither are brought divers Manuscripts or written Bookes out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money then any other Merchandize. The Coine of Tombuto is of Gold without any stampe or superscription: but in matters of small value they use certaine shels brought hither out of the Kingdome of Persia, foure hundred of which shels are woorth a Duckat: and sixe peeces of their Golden Coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The Inhabitants are people of a gentle and cheerefull disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the Citie: they keepe great store of men and women-slaves, and their Towne is much in danger of fire: at my second being there halfe the Towne almost was burnt in five houres space. Without the Suburbs there are no Gardens nor Orchards at all.

Poysoned arrowes. Jewes hated.

Bookes.

Shels used for Coine like as in the Kingdome of Congo.

The Towne of Cabra.

Cabra a large Towne built without walles in manner of a Village, standeth about twelve miles from Tombuto upon the River Niger: and heere such Merchants as travell unto the Kingdomes of Ghinea and Melli embarke themselves. Neither are the people or buildings of this Towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of Tombuto: and hither the Negros resort in great numbers

by water. In this Towne the King of Tombuto appointeth a Judge to decide all controversies: for it was tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with Abu Bacr, sirnamed Pargama, the Kings Brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in mind and conditions. Heere breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people; that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meates; for they mingle Fish, Milke, Butter, and Flesh altogether. And this is the ordinary food also in Tombuto.

[II. vi. 829.] *The Towne and Kingdome of Gagoa.*

The great Towne of Gago being unwalled also, is distant Southward of Tombuto almost foure hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the South-East. The houses thereof are but meane, except those wherein the King and his Courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich Merchants: and hither continually resort great store of Negros, which buy Cloath here brought out of Barbarie and Europe. This Towne aboundeth with Corne and Flesh, but is much destitute of Wine, Trees, and Fruites. Howbeit, here is plenty of Melons, Citrons, and Rice: here are many Wells also containing most sweet and wholsome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaves are to be sold, especially upon such dayes as the Merchants use to assemble; and a young slave of fifteene yeares age is sold for sixe Duckats, and so are children sold also. The King of this Region hath a certaine private Palace, wherein hee maintaineth a great number of Concubines and Slaves, which are kept by Eunuches: and for the guard of his owne person, he keepeth a sufficient troope of Horsemen and Footmen. Betweene the first Gate of the Palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about, wherein the King himselfe decideth all his subjects controversies: and albeit, the King be in this function most diligent, and performeth all things thereto appertaining, yet hath he about him his Counsellors, and other Officers; as namely, his Secretaries, Treasurers, Factors, and Auditors. It is a wonder to see what plenty of Merchandize is daily brought hither, and how costly

and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in Europe for ten Duckats, are here sold againe for forty, and sometimes for fifty Duckats a piece. There is not any Cloath of Europe so course, which will not here be sold for foure Ducats an ell; and if it be any thing fine, they will give fifteene Duckats for an ell: and an ell of the Scarlet of Venice, or of Turkie Cloath is here worth thirty Duckats. A Sword is here valued at three or foure Crownes, and so likewise are Spurs, Bridles, with other like commodities; and Spices also are sold at an high rate: but of all other commodities, Salt is most extremely deare. The residue of this Kingdome containeth nought but Villages and Hamlets inhabited by Husbandmen and Shepheards, who in Winter cover their bodies with beasts skins; but in Summer they goe all naked save their privie members: and sometimes they weare upon their feete certaine shooes made of Camels Leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce find one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grievous exactions, so that they have scarce any thing remaining to live upon.

Rich sale for Cloth.

Swords.

Salt deare.

Of the Kingdome of Guber.

Guber standeth Eastward of the Kingdom of Gago almost three hundred miles; between which two Kingdomes lieth a vast Desart, being much destitute of water, for it is about forty miles distant from Niger. The Kingdome of Guber is environed with high Mountaines, and containeth many Villages inhabited by Shepheards, and other Heardsmen. Abundance of Cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the Cattell in other places. At the inundation of Niger all the fields of this Region are overflowed, and then the inhabitants cast their seed into the water onely. In this Region there is a certaine great Village containing almost sixe thousand Families, being inhabited with all kind of Merchants; and here was in times past the Court of a certaine King, who in my time was slaine by Izchia the King of Tombuto, and his sonnes were gelt, and accounted among the number of the Kings Eunuchs.

Their manner of sowing Corne at the Inundation of Niger.

The King of Guber slaine by Izchia.

He which pleaseth the inhabitants of the Desart best, is sure to be King of Agadez. The residue of this Kingdome lying Southward is inhabited by Shepheards and Heardsmen, who dwel in certaine Cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about upon Oxen from place to place. They erect their Cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the Arabians also doe. *Cottages moveable.*

The great Province of Cano standeth Eastward of the River Niger almost five hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in Villages are some of them Heardsmen, and others Husbandmen. Here groweth abundance of Corne, of Rice, and of Cotton. Also here are many Desarts and wild woodie Mountaines containing many Springs of water. In these Woods grow plenty of wild Citrons and Lemons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this Province standeth a Towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kind of Chalke. The inhabitants are rich Merchants, and most civill people. Their King was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troopes of Horsemen at his command; but he hath since been constrained to pay tribute unto the Kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterward, Ischia the King of Tombuto faining friendship unto the two foresaid Kings treacherously slew them both. And then hee waged warre against the King of Cano, whom after a long siedge he took, and compelled him to marrie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his Kingdome, conditionally that he should pay unto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said King of Tombuto hath some of his Courtiers perpetually residing at Cano for the receit thereof. *The Province of Cano.* *The Kings of Zegzeg, of Casena, and of Cano subdued by Izchia the King of Tombuto.*

Casena bordering Eastward upon the Kingdome last described, is full of Mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of Barlie and Mill-seed. The inhabitants are all extremely blacke, having great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and *The Kingdome of Casena.*

base Cottages: neither shall you find any of their Villages containing above three hundred Families. And besides, their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: [II. vi. 830.] a King they had in times past whom the foresaid Ischia slew, since whose death they have all beene tributarie unto Ischia.

Izchia.

The Kingdom of Zegzeg.

The South-east part of Zegzeg bordereth upon Cano, and it is distant from Casena almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich, and have great traffique unto other Nations. Some part of this Kingdome is plaine, and the residue Mountainous, but the Mountaines are extremely colde, and the Plaines intollerably hot. And because they can hardly indure the sharpenesse of Winter, they kindle great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof under their high bedsteads, and so betaking themselves to sleepe. Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitfull, and their houses are built like the houses of the Kingdome of Casena. They had a King of their owne in times past, who being slaine by Ischia (as is aforesaid) they have ever since beene subject unto the said Ischia.

Izchia.

The Region of Zanfara.

The King of Zanfara slaine by Izchia, and the people made tributary.

The Region of Zanfara bordering Eastward upon Zegzeg, is inhabited by most base and Rusticall people. Their fields abound with Rice, Mill, and Cotton. The Inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broade, and their dispositions most salvage and brutish. Their King also was slaine by Ischia, and themselves made tributarie.

The Towne and Kingdome of Guangara.

Gold.

These Kingdomes of Guangara adjoyneth Southeasterly upon Zanfara. Southward thereof lyeth a Region greatly abounding with gold. But now they can have no traffique with forren Nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruell enemies. For Westward they are opposed by Ischia, and Eastward, by the King of Borno. When I my selfe was in Borno, King Abraham having levied an huge Armie, determined to expell the Prince of Guangara out of his Kingdome, had hee not been hindred by Homar the Prince of Gaoga, which

Izchia.

A.D. c. 1526.

beganne to assaile the Kingdome of Borno. Wherefore the King of Borno being drawne home into his owne Countrey, was enforced to give over the conquest of Guangara. So often as the Merchants of Guangara travell into the foresaid Region abounding with gold, because the wayes are so rough and difficult that their Camels cannot goe upon them, they carry their wares upon slaves backes; who being laden with great burthens, doe usually travell ten or twelve miles a day. Yea, some I saw that made two of those journies in one day: a wonder it is to see what heavy burthens these poore slaves are charged withall; for besides the Merchandize, they carry victuals also for their Masters, and for the Souldiers that goe to guard them.

The Kingdom of Borno. Where no religious set Ceremonies are, men are said to have no religion: yet upon better notice of such parts, alway an observation of, and communication with the Devil is found, where men acknowledge no God, as in Brasil, &c. Also Savages are said to have no religion, having no Temples, &c. The Desart of Seu.

The large Province of Borno, bordering Westward upon the Province of Guangara, and from thence extending Eastward five hundred miles, is distant from the Fountaine of Niger almost an hundred and fiftie miles, the South part whereof adjoyning unto the Desart of Set, and the North part unto that Desart which lyeth towards Barca. The Inhabitants, in Summer goe all naked save their privie members which they cover with a peece of leather: but all Winter they are clad in skinnes, and have beds of skinnes also. They embrace no Religion at all, being neither Christians, Mahumetans, nor Jewes, nor of any other Profession, but living after a brutish manner, and having wives and children in common: and (as I understood of a certaine Merchant that abode a long time among them) they have no proper names at all, but every one is nicknamed according to his length, his fatnesse, or some other qualitie. They have a most puissant Prince, being lineally descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa. He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certaine people inhabiting beyond the Desart of Seu; who in times past, marching with an huge army of footemen over the said Desart, wasted a great part of the Kingdome of Borno. Whereupon the King of Borno sent for the Merchants of Barbarie, and willed them to bring him great store of

Horses: for in this Countrey they use to exchange Horses for slaves, and to give fifteene, and sometimes twenty slaves for one horse. And by this meanes there were abundance of horses brought: howbeit, the Merchants were constrained to stay for their slaves till the King returned home conquerour with a great number of Captives, and satisfied his creditors for their Horses. The King seemeth to be marvellous rich; for his Spurres, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the table, are all of pure gold: yea, and the chaines of his Dogs and Houndes are of gold also. Howbeit, this King is extremely covetous, for he had much rather pay his debts in slaves then in gold.

Fifteene or twentie slaves exchanged for one Horse.

Vessels, &c. Gold.

The Kingdom of Gaoga.

Gaoga bordering Westward upon the Kingdome of Borno, and extending Eastward to the Confines of Nubia, adjoyneth Southward unto a certaine Desart, situate upon a crooked and winding part of Nilus, and is enclosed Northward with the frontiers of Ægypt. It stretcheth from East to West, in length five hundred miles, and as much in breadth. They have neither humanitie nor learning among them, but are most rusticall and savage people, and especially those that inhabite the Mountaines, who goe all naked saving their privities: Their houses are made of boughes and rafts, and are much subject to burning, and they have great abundance of Cattell, whereunto they give diligent attendance. This Prince greatly honoreth all learned men, and especially such as are of the linage of Mahumet. I my selfe being in his Court, a certaine Noble-man of Damiata brought him very rich and royall gifts; as namely, a gallant Horse, a Turkish Sword, and a Kingly robe, with certaine other particulars, that cost about an hundred and fiftie Duckats at Cairo: in recompence whereof, the King gave him five slaves, five Camels, five hundred Ducats of that Region, and an hundred Elephants teeth of wonderfull bignesse. [II. vi. 831.]

The Kingdome of Nubia.

Nubia bordering Westward upon the Kingdome last described, and stretching from thence unto Nilus, is en-

closed on the South-side with the Desart of Goran, and on the North-side with the Confines of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this Kingdome into Egypt: for the River of Nilus is in some places no deeper then a man may wade over on foot. The principall Towne of this Kingdome called Dangala, is exceeding populous, and contayneth to the number of ten thousand Families. The Kingdome of Nubia is most rich in Corne and Sugar, which notwithstanding they know not how to use. Also in the Citie of Dangala there is great plentie of Civet and Sandal-wood. This Region aboundeth with Ivory likewise, because heere are so many Elephants taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poyson, one graine whereof being divided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an houre: but if one man taketh a grain, he dyeth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this Poyson is sold for an hundred Duckats; neyther may it be sold to any but to forraine Merchants, and whosoever buyeth it is bound by an Oath not to use it in the Kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this Poyson are constrayned to pay as much unto the King, as to the Merchant: but if any man selleth Poyson without the Princes knowledge, he is presently put to death. The people themselves are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, and live onely upon Milke, Camels flesh, and the flesh of such beasts as are taken in those Desarts. Some times they receive Tribute of the Governour of Suachen, and sometimes of the Governours of Dangala. They had once a rich Towne situate upon the Red Sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious Haven, being opposite unto the Haven of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeares since it was destroyed by the Soldan, because the Inhabitants received certaine Wares which should have beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous Port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely Tribute.

The River of Nilus not Navigable betweene Nubia and Egypt.

The rich Commodities of Nubia.

Most strong Poyson.

Bugiha.

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